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George Woodward

THE

METHOD

OF

TEACHING AND STUDYING

THE

BELLES LETTRES,

OR,

AN INTRODUCTION to LANGUAGES, POETRY, RHETORIC, HISTORY, MORAL PHILOSOPHY, PHYSICS, &c.

WITH

REFLECTIONS on TASTE, and INSTRUCTIONS with regard to the ELOQUENCE of the PULPIT, the BAR, and the STAGE.

The whole illustrated with PASSAGES from the most famous POETS and ORATORS, ancient and modern, with CRITICAL REMARKS on them.

Designed more particularly for STUDENTS in the UNIVERSITIES.

By Mr. ROLLIN, *late Principal of the University of Paris, Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.*

Translated from the FRENCH.

VOL. IV.

The SIXTH EDITION.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for A. KINCAID & J. BELL, W. GORDON, and W. GRAY. M.DCC.LXVIII.

370
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PART

PART THE THIRD.

Of PROFANE HISTORY.

he Continuation of the HISTORY of the ROMANS.

The third PIECE of ROMAN HISTORY.

e Space of three and fifty Years, from the Beginning of the ſecond Punic War to the Defeat of Perſeus.

FOR the third portion of Roman hiſtory, I take that term which Polybius choſe for the ſubject of his performance; I mean the ree and fifty years which paſſed from the begin- ng of the ſecond Punic war to the end of the acedonian, which concluded with the overthrow id captivity of Perſeus, and the deſtruction of his ngdom.

Polybius looks upon this interval as the moſt ouriſhing age of the Roman republic, an age hich produced the greateſt men, and diſplayed the oſt ſhining virtues, in which the greateſt and moſt nportant events happened, and, in a word, where- the Romans began to enter upon the poſſeſſion of at vaſt empire, which afterwards included almoſt very part of the then known world, and by a con- nual and very ſwift progreſs arrived at that degree f grandeur and power, which has made it the ad- iration of the whole univerſe.

Now, as the eſtabliſhment of the Roman empire as, according to [a] Polybius, the moſt wonderful work

[a] Polyb. lib. 1.

work of divine Providence, and could not be garded as the effect of chance and a blind fortu but as the consequence of a pre-conceived desi concerted with weight and measure, and conduc by an infallible wisdom, is it not, as the same thor farther observes, a very commendable curi ty, and worthy the best understanding, to enqu what was the time, what the preparatives, what means, and who the instruments, in carrying on glorious and noble an enterprize to its execution

This Polybius, who is the most judicious histo an extant, and was himself a great soldier and p tician, had shewn at large in the history he wro of which the small remains we have, give us great r son to lament the loss of the rest. This I also sh endeavour to trace in this piece of the Roman hi ry, though very briefly: I intend, however, to int duce into my discourse what I shall judge most be tiful in Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch, which are originals from whence I shall extract the best p of what I have to say upon this subject, with re rence either to the facts themselves, or the reflec ons I shall make upon them.

CHAP. I.

A NARRATIVE *of the* FACTS.

I SHALL begin with relating the principal vents, which fell out in the time I am speaki of, that I may thereby give such of my readers, are unacquainted with this branch of history, so slight idea of it.

The Beginning of the second PUNIC *War, and the S cesses of* HANNIBAL.

[b] The beginning of the second Punic war, if look only upon the date of time, was the taking Saguntu

[b] Liv. lib. 21. n. 1.——20.

untum by Hannibal, and the irruption he made
the country ſituate beyond the Ebro, which
allied to the people of Rome; but the real
ſe of it was the indignation of the Carthaginians
eeing themſelves deprived of Sicily and Sardinia
treaties, which the ſole neceſſity of the time,
the ill condition of their affairs, had extorted
m them. The ſudden death of Hamilcar hin-
ed him from executing the deſign he had long
n forming of taking revenge for theſe injuries.
ſon Hannibal, whom he had obliged to ſwear
n the altar, whilſt yet but nine years old, that
would declare himſelf an enemy to the Romans
ſoon as he came to the age of doing it, entered
all his views, and inherited his hatred for the
nans, as well as his valour. He made very
ant preparations for this great deſign; and when
thought himſelf in a condition to execute it, he
ned it with the ſiege of Saguntum. And whe-
r it was through idleneſs and negligence, or
ough prudence and wiſdom, the Romans ſpent
time in different embaſſies, and left Hannibal
opportunity of taking the town.

And for his part, he well knew how to make
beſt uſe of it. After he had ſettled all things
his mind, he left his brother Aſdrubal in Spain
lefend the country, and ſet out for Italy with an
y of ninety thouſand foot, and ten or twelve
uſand horſe. There was no obſtacle great e-
gh to diſcourage him, or ſtop his march. The
enæan mountains, the croſſing of the Rhone, a
g march through Gaul, and the very difficult paſ-
of the Alps, all gave way before his zeal and in-
tigable reſolution. Conqueror over the Alps,
, in a manner, over nature itſelf, he entered I-
, which he had reſolved to make the theatre of
war. His troops were extremely leſſened in
r numbers, amounting to no more than twenty
thouſand

[c] Ibid. n. 21.——38.

thousand foot and six thousand horse, but were of confidence and courage.

A rapidity so inconceivable astonished the mans, and broke all their measures. They had termined to carry the war abroad, and that on their consuls should make head against Hanniba Spain, whilst the other should march streight Africa to lay siege to Carthage. But they now obliged to lay aside these projects, and t of defending their own country. Publius pio the consul, who thought Hannibal still in Pyrenæan mountains, when he had actually p the Rhone, not being able to come up with was under a necessity of returning back whence he came, to wait for, and fall upon at his descent from the Alps, and, in the while, sent Cneius Scipio his brother into S against Asdrubal.

[d] The first engagement was not far from th tle river of Tesin. The speeches of the two g rals to their armies are very entertaining. Livy copied them from Polybius, but in a masterly by throwing in such strokes as make the copy to the original. The Carthaginian gained the tory. The Roman consul was wou ed in the tle; [e] and his son, who was then scarce seven years old, saved his life. This was he, who a wards conquered Hannibal, and was surnamed fricanus.

[f] Upon the first news of this defeat, S npro the other consul, who was in Sicily, marched ssently by order of the senate to the assistan his colleague, who was not yet well recov his wounds. That was his reason for hasten battle, against the opinion of Scipio, in hop

engr

[d] Liv. lib. xxi. n. 33.——48.

[e] Neque illum aetati infirmitas interpellare valuit, quo duplici gloria conspicuam coronam, imperatore simul et ipsa morte rapto, intexeretur. Val. Max. lib. v. c. 2.

[f] Liv. lib. xxi. n. 51.——56.

groſſing the whole glory of it to himſelf. Han-
bal, who had good intelligence of all that paſſed
the Roman camp, having ſuffered Sempronius to
n ſome ſlight advantage in order to improve his
nerity, gave him an opportunity of coming to a
ttle near the river of Trebia. He had placed his
ther Mago in ambuſcade in a very favourable
ſt, and cauſed his army to uſe all neceſſary pre-
ution againſt the famine and cold, which was then
reme. The Romans had been very negligent of
ner, and for that reaſon were ſoon overthrown,
d put to flight; and Mago, iſſuing from the place
ere he lay in ambuſh, made a great ſlaughter of
em.

Hannibal, to make the beſt uſe of his time and
t victories, kept continually advancing, and ap-
ached every day nearer the centre of Italy.
But to come up the more ſpeedily with the ene-
, he was under a neceſſity of paſſing through a
raſs, where his army ſuſtained incredible fatigues,
d he loſt an eye. Flaminius, one of the late no-
nated conſuls, had left Rome without obſerving
uſual omens. [i] He was a vain, rath, enterpri-
g man, full of himſelf, and whoſe natural haugh-
eſs was increaſed by the good ſucceſs of his firſt
nſulſhip, and the declared favour of the people.
was plain enough, that as he neither conſulted
gods nor men, he would naturally abandon
nſelf to the warmth and impetuoſity of his ge-
s; and Hannibal, to prompt that diſpoſition,
not fail to irritate and provoke him by ravaging
laying waſte all the neighbouring country with-

Liv. lib. xvi. n. 57——59 and 63.
Lib. xii. n. 1——6.
Co[illegible]l ferox ab conſulatu priore, et non modo legum ac pa-
n. jeſtatis, ſed ne deorum quidem ſatis metuens erat. Hanc
m ingenio ejus temeritatem fortuna proſpero civilibus bellicis-
rebus ſucceſſu aluerat. Itaque ſatis apparebat nec deos nec ho-
s conſulentem, ferociter omnia ac praepropere acturum; quo-
ronior eſſet in vitia ſua, agitare eum atque irritare Poenus pa-
lb. lib xxii. n. 3.

in his view. And this sufficed to make the con
resolve upon giving battle, notwithstanding the
suasion of all the officers, who besought him
wait for the coming up of his colleague. The
cess was such, as they had foreseen, fifteen th
sand Romans were left dead upon the spot, w
Flaminius at their head, and rendered the lak
Thrasimene ever after famous by their bloody
feat.

Fabius Dictator.

[k] When this sorrowful news was brought
Rome, the whole city was in great consternati
They expected every moment to see Hanniba
their gates. Fabius Maximus was chosen [l] dicta
who, after he had discharged the duties of relig
and given such orders as were necessary for the
curity of the city, went directly to the army, v
a resolution not to hazard a battle, unless he
forced to it, or perfectly sure of the success.
kept his troops upon the tops of the mounta
without losing sight of Hannibal, never comin
near him as to be under a necessity of fighting,
removing to such a distance, as to let him be ou
his reach. He confined the soldiers strictly to
camp, never suffering them to quit it except fo
rage, and then only under a strong convoy. [m]
never engaged but in slight skirmishes, and then
with so much caution, that his troops had al
the advantage. By this means, he insensibly r
red to them that resolution and confidence,
which the loss of three battles had deprived th
and encouraged them to rely, as formerly, u
their own courage and good fortune. The en
soon perceived, that the Romans had been ta

[k] Lib. xxii. n. 7——10. [l] Prodictator.

[m] Neque universo periculo summa rerum committebatur, v
va momenta levium certaminum ex tuto coeptorum, finitimo
ptu, assuefaciebant territum pristinis cladibus militem, minu
tandem aut virtutis aut fortunae poenitere suae. Lib. xxii. s

their former defeats, to make choice of a gene-
, that was capable of making head againſt Han-
bal; and Hannibal found, that he had more cauſe
be apprehenſive of the prudent and regular con-
ct of the dictator, than of his making any bold
hazardous attacks.

n Minucius, the general of the Roman horſe, ſuf-
ed the wiſe conduct of Fabius with more impa-
nce than even Hannibal himſelf. As warm and
ſſionate in his diſcourſe as deſigns, he was conti-
ally railing at the dictator; his prudence and cir-
mſpection he termed irreſolution and fearfulneſs,
d called his virtues by the names of ſuch vices as
proached the neareſt to them; and by an arti-
e, which too often ſucceeds, raiſed his own repu-
ion upon the ruin of that of his ſuperior; and,
tly, by intriguing and caballing with the people,
obtained, that his own authority ſhould be made
ual with the dictator's, which, till then, had been
precedented. But ◦ Fabius, fully aſſured that the
ople, by making them equal in the command, did
t put them upon an equality in the art of com-
nding, bore this injury with ſuch moderation, as
ewed, that he could no more be conquered by his
n countrymen, than his enemies.

Minucius, in conſequence of the equality of pow-
betwixt him and Fabius, propoſed to him, that
h ſhould command their day, or even a longer
ce of time. But Fabius refuſed to comply with
s condition, as it expoſed the whole army to dan-
, whilſt it ſhould be under the direction of Mi-
cius, and choſe rather to divide the troops, that

◦ Sed non Annibalem magis infeſtum tam ſanis conſiliis habebat,
m magiſtrum equitum. . . . . Ferox rapiduſque in conſiliis, ac lin-
s immodicus, pro cunctatore ſegnem, et cauto timidum, affingens
na virtutibus vitia, compellabat: premendorumque ſuperiorum
(quae peſſima ars nimis proſperis multorum ſucceſſibus crevit)
extollebat. Liv. lib. xxii. n. 12.

Satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii jure artem imperandi ac-
tam, cum invicto à civibus hoſtibuſque animo ad exercitum red-
Ibid. n. 26.

he might be at leaſt in a condition of preſerving th
part of them, which fell to his ſhare.

What Fabius had foreſeen, ſoon came to pa
His colleague, eager and impatient for the bat
fell directly into the ſnare which Hannibal had l
for him, and his army was upon the point of be
cut to pieces. [p] The dictator, without loſing ti
in uſeleſs reproaches, "Come, ſays he to his f
"diers, let us march to the aſſiſtance of Minuci
"wreſt the victory out of the hands of our e
"mies, and oblige our citizens to an acknowle
"ment of their miſtake." He arrived very opp
tunely, and forced Hannibal to ſound a retr
[q] who cried out as he was retiring, "that the clo
"which had hung ſo long upon the tops of
"mountains, had burſt at laſt with a mighty no
"and occaſioned a terrible ſtorm."

So important a ſervice, and in ſuch a conju
ture, opened the eyes of Minucius, and brou
him to a confeſſion of his fault. To make inſt
reparation, he went immediately with his army
Fabius's tent, and calling him his father and del
rer, told him, he was come to put himſelf un
his command again, and [r] to make void a dec
which was more burthenſome than honourabl
him. The ſoldiers did the ſame, and nothing
to be ſeen on both ſides but mutual embraces,
the moſt lively expreſſions of thankfulneſs and g
titude; and [s] the reſt of the day, which was
near proving ſo fatal to the republic, was ſpent
diverſions and rejoicings.

[p] Aliud jurgandi ſuccenſendique tempus erit; nunc ſigna
vallum proferre. Victoriam hoſti extorqueamus, confeſſionem
roris civibus. Liv. lib. xxiii. n. 29.

[q] Annibalem ex acie redeuntem dixiſſe ferunt, tandem ean
bam, quae ſedere in jugis montium ſolita ſit, cum procella im
dediſſe. Ibid. n. 30.

[r] Plebiſcitum, quo oneratus magis quam honoratus ſum, p
antiquo abrogoque. Ibid.

[s] Laetuſque dies, ex admodum triſti paulo ante ac prope ex
bili, factus eſt. Ibid.

The Battle of CANNÆ.

The most famous action of Hannibal, and which all probability must have ruined for ever the pow- of Rome, was the battle of Cannæ. [t] L. Æmilius ulus, and C. Terentius Varro, were appointed nsuls at Rome. This last, [u] though of a base and an extraction, had found means to obtain the nsulship, through the great wealth his father had t him, and his artifice in gaining the favour of e people, by declaring openly against the great n, without any other merit than that of an unli- ted ambition, and an equal opinion of his own a- ity. He loudly exclaimed, "that the only way to perpetuate the war, was to place such as Fabius at the head of the army; that for his part, he could put an end to it the very first day he saw the enemy." His colleague, who was very sensi- that [x] rashness, besides the unreasonableness of had hitherto been always very unsuccessful, was a quite different way of thinking. Fabius, upon departure for the campaign, confirmed him still ther in these sentiments, and often repeated to n, that the only way to conquer Hannibal, was to ch occasions, and spin out the war to the utmost. But, [y] said he, your countrymen will take pains o make this method impracticable to you, even nore than your enemies. Your soldiers will in

Liv. lib. xxii. n. 34—53.

His father is said to have been a butcher.

Temeritatem, praeterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id um fuisse. Liv. lib. xxii. n. 38.

Haec una salutis via, L. Paule, quam difficilem infestamque cives magis quam hostes faciunt. Idem enim tui, quod hostium mi- volent; idem Varro consul Romanus, quod Annibal Poenus rator, cupiet. Duobus ducibus unus resistas oportet. Resistes a, adversus famam rumoresque hominum si satis firmus steteris; neque collegae vana gloria, neque tua falsa infamia moverit.— timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, † imbellem, pro belli vocent. Malo te sapiens hostis metuat, quam stulti ci- ndent. Ib. n. 39.

† *think it should be read* tibi.

mbellis *must here signify* rudis in bello, imperitus belli-

" this conſpire with the Carthaginians; Varro a
" Hannibal will think alike upon this ſubject. Yo
" only way will be to ſtand unmoved againſt t
" ſhock of popular rumours and reports, and n
" be diverted from your reſolution by the falſe gl
" ry of your colleague, or the falſe infamy whi
" they will induſtriouſly throw upon you. Inſte
" of a cautious, vigilant, and able general, let the
" repreſent you as cowardly, indolent and ignora
" I would rather have you dreaded by a wiſe en
" my, than applauded by fooliſh citizens."

[2] It was cuſtomary among the Romans in time
war, to raiſe every year four legions, each of whi
conſiſted of four thouſand foot, and three thouſa
horſe. The allies, that is to ſay the people bord
ing upon the territories of Rome, ſupplied a l
number of foot, with double, and ſometimes tri
the number of horſe. And theſe troops were u
ally divided between the two conſuls, who made v
ſeparately, and in different countries. But as t
was an affair of the laſt importance, the two con
marched together, the number both of the Ron
and Latin forces was doubled, and every legion a
mented with an addition of a thouſand foot, and
hundred horſe.

The ſtrength of Hannibal's army lay in his ho
for which reaſon L. Paulus declined engaging in
open plain. Beſides, the Carthaginians were
great diſtreſs for want of proviſions, and could
poſſibly ſubſiſt ten days in the country, ſo that
Spaniſh troops were upon the point of diſband
The armies continued ſome days in view of each
ther, till at laſt, after different motions, Varro,
withſtanding the remonſtrances of his collea
came to an engagement near the little villag
Cannæ. The ground was very favourable to
Carthaginians; and Hannibal, who knew hov
improve every circumſtance, drew up his arm

[2] Polyb. lib. iii. p. 257.

h a manner, that the wind [a] Vulturnus, which
e at a certain regular time, blew directly upon the
es of the Romans during the battle, and poured
ower of dust upon them. The battle was fought.
all not relate the particulars of it; the curious
der may find them in Polybius and Livy, and e-
cially in the former, who being himself a soldier,
st have succeeded better than the other in rela-
g all the circumstances of so memorable an action.
e victory was long disputed, and at last became
nplete on the side of the Carthaginians. The
sul L. Paulus was mortally wounded, and above
y thousand men left dead in the field, and among
m the best part of the officers. Varro, the other
sul, escaped to Venusia, with no more than se-
ty horsemen.

Maharbal, one of the Carthaginian generals, ad-
d Hannibal to march directly to Rome, without
ng time, promising him, that within five days he
uld sup in the Capitol. And upon the other's
y, that he must take time to consider of that;
see, [b] says Maharbal, the gods have not given
he same man all talents at once. You know how
o conquer, Hannibal; not how to improve the
ictory." [c] And indeed many are of opinion, that
ne and the empire were both saved by that delay.
is easy to comprehend how great the consterna-
was at Rome, upon the news of this bloody de-
. However they did not lose courage. After ha-
g implored the assistance of the gods by public
vers and sacrifices, the magistrates encouraged by
prudent counsels and firm resolution of Fabius,
le all proper dispositions; and provided for the
rity of the city. They immediately raised four
ons, and a thousand horse, and granted a dis-
pensation

[a] It is a wind blowing from the south, which way the Romans turned.

[b] Tum Maharbal, non omnia nimirum eidem dii dedere. Vincis, Annibal; victoria uti nescis. Liv. lib. xxii. n. 51.

[c] Mora ejus diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio. Ib.

penſation of age to ſeveral, that were not quite
venteen years old. The allies alſo raiſed new lev
Ten Roman officers, that were diſmiſſed by Hanni
upon their *parole*, came to Rome, to require a r
ſom for the priſoners. But, though the repul
was in great diſtreſs for ſoldiers, they conſtantly
fuſed to redeem them, that they might not inj
the Roman diſcipline, which puniſhed without
whoever voluntarily ſubmitted to the enemy ;
they choſe rather to arm the ſlaves they bought
private perſons, to the number of eight thouſa
and the priſoners confined for debts or crim
which amounted to ſix thouſand more ; [b] the c
venient taking place of the decent and honeſt,
the hiſtorian, in this ſad conjuncture.

At Rome the zeal of particular perſons, and
gard for the public, ſhone out at this time in a w
derful manner. But the caſe was not the ſame
the allies. The preceding loſſes had not been
to ſhake their fidelity ; but this laſt ſtroke, wh
as they thought muſt determine the ruin of the
public, they could not withſtand, and ſeveral
them went over to the conqueror's ſide. And
neither the loſs of ſo many troops, nor the re
of ſo many of their allies, could induce the Ro
people to give any ear to an accommodation. [c]
ſtead of loſing courage, they never ſhewed ſo g
magnanimity ; and when the conſul returned
Rome after ſo conſiderable an overthrow, whe
he had been the principal cauſe, all the orders
the ſtate went out to meet him, and returned
thanks for not having deſpaired of the repub
whereas at Carthage, no puniſhment would
been great enough for a general after ſuch a diſgr

Ca

[b] Ad ultimum prope deſperatae reipublicae auxilium, cum
neſta utilibus cedunt, deſcendit. Liv. lib. xxiii. n. 14.

[c] Adeo magno animo civitas fuit, ut conſuli ex tanta clade,
ipſe cauſa maxima fuiſſet, redeunti, et obviam itum frequent
omnibus ordinibus ſit, et gratiae actae quod de republica non
raſſet : cui, ſi ductor Carthaginienſium fuiſſet, nihil recuſandum
plicii foret. Lib. xxii. n. 61.

Capua was one of the allied cities, which surrened to Hannibal: But the ſtay he made there with troops during the winter proved very fatal to n. [d] That manly courage, which no misfortunes, fatigues, had been able to ſubdue, was entirely rvated by the pleaſures of Capua, which the ſolrs ran into with the greater guſt from being the accuſtomed to them. This fault of Hannibal, he opinion of good judges, was greater than his ake in not marching directly to Rome after the le of Cannæ. For the delay might ſeem only to e retarded the victory, whereas this laſt circumce abſolutely loſt him the power of conquering. hus Capua was to Hannibal what Cannæ had n to the Romans.

PIO *choſen General, reſtores the Affairs of* SPAIN.

he death of the two Scipio's, the father and uncle im I am about to ſpeak of, ſeemed likely to ruin rely the Roman affairs in Spain, which hitherto been very ſucceſsful. 'Tis a queſtion, whether ccaſioned a greater mourning at Rome, or in n. For the defeat of the two armies, the almoſt ain loſs of ſo conſiderable a province, and the of the public ills, made up a part of the citigrief; [f] whilſt Spain regreted and lamented generals, and Cn. Scipio in particular, who governed them long, and was the firſt who ht them, and made them reliſh the Roman juand moderation.

Tears

uos nulla mali vicerat vis, perdidere nimia bona ac voluptates dicae: et eo impenſius, quo avidius ex inſolentia in eas ſe mer——Majuſque id peccatum ducis apud peritos artium militaribitum eſt, quam quod non ex Cannenſi acie protinus ad uromanam duxiſſet. Illa enim cunctatio diſtuliſſe modo victoideri potuit, hic error vires ademiſſe ad vincendum. Lib. . 18.

puam Annibali Cannas fuiſſe. Ib. n. 45.

iſpaniae ipſos lugebant deſiderabantque duces: Cneum tamen quo diutius praefuerat eis, priorque et favorem occupavepecimen juſtitiae temperantiaeque Romanae primus dederat. v. n. 36.

g Tears flowed afresh at Rome, when they me appoint a successor to those two great men. The fairs of that province appeared so desperate, that body presumed to offer himself as a candidate for place; and the mournful silence which reigned the whole assembly, made them more sensibly re the loss they had sustained. In this universal c sternation, Publius Corn. Scipio, a youth of t and twenty, the son of Publius who was lately sl rises up, and standing in an higher place than rest, offers to go and command in Spain, if the p ple would accept of his service. This courag offer gives life and joy to the assembly, and all w out exception unanimously elect him general. as soon as the first heat was over, and the pe reflected upon Scipio's age, they began to reper what they had done. Some even drew a scor presage from his name and family, when they co dered that they sent him into a province, wher was to fight over the graves of his father and uncle. Scipio perceiving they grew cool, ma speech to them so full of confidence, and spoke so much discretion of his own age, and the ho they had done him, as also of the war that he un took, that he at once entirely dispersed the pec fears, and rekindled the ardour with which they conferred the command upon him. The fame pio some years before having demanded the c ship before the time expressed by the laws, an tribunes for that reason opposing his demand, " the people, h says he, think proper to chus " Edile, I am old enough."

Scipio's arrival in Spain inspired the troops fresh courage. i They discerned with joy the

g Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 18, 19.

h Si me, inquit, omnes Quirites Ædilem facere volunt, s norum habeo. Lib. xxv. n. 2.

i Brevi faciam, ut quemadmodum nunc noscitatis in me pa tuique similitudinem oris vultusque, et lineamenta corporis; genii, fidei, virtutisque exemplum expressum ad effigiem vo dam. Liv. xxvi. n. 3.

reſemblance of his father and uncle in his coun-
ance; and in the firſt ſpeech he made them he
l them, that he hoped they would ſoon likewiſe
ern in him the ſame ſpirit, the ſame courage,
the ſame integrity.

His promiſes were not without effect. His firſt
erprize was the ſiege of Carthagena, the richeſt,
at the ſame time the ſtrongeſt city in Spain. It
the repoſitory of the enemies arms, their arſe-
magazine, treaſury, and place of ſecurity, where
laid up whatever was neceſſary for the ſubſiſt-
e of their armies, and where all the hoſtages of
ces and people were alſo detained. Thus the
queſt of this city alone would in a manner make
the maſter of all Spain. This important and
cult expedition, which till then had been looked
n as impoſſible, coſt him only one day. [k] The
y was immenſe; inſomuch that Carthagena it-
was regarded as the leaſt part of the acquiſition.
io began by returning thanks to the gods, not
for having made him maſter of the moſt opu-
city in the country in one day, but for having
re amaſſed in it the ſtrength and riches of al-
all Africa and of all Spain. He then made his
owledgments to the troops, and loaded them
praiſes, rewards and honours, according to
condition and merit.

Then cauſing the priſoners to be brought before
he ſpoke very obligingly to them, and com-
d them, by repreſenting to them, "that they
ere fallen into the hands of the Roman people,
no choſe rather to gain the affections of mankind
benevolence and juſtice, than ſubject them by
ar, and to bind nations to them by the honour-
"able

t minimum omnium inter tantas opes belli captas, Carthago
erat. Lib. xxvi. n. 47.
pio, vocatis obſidibus, univerſos bonum animum habere juſſit:
eos in populi Romani poteſtatem, qui beneficio quam metu
e homines malit: exteraſque gentes fide ac ſocietate junctas
, quam triſti ſubjectas ſervitio. Lib. xxvi. n. 49.

" able title of friends and allies, than reduce th
" to the ſad and ſhameful condition of ſlaves."

It was on this occaſion that a lady, venerable
her age and birth, the wife of Mandonius, brot
to Indibilis king of the Ilergetæ, came and th
herſelf at Scipio's feet, with ſeveral young prince
daughters of Indibilis, and others of the ſame c
lity, and beſought him to order his guards to
a particular care of them. Scipio, who did no
firſt underſtand her meaning, anſwered that
ſhould want for nothing. The lady then reſun
her diſcourſe, " That, [m] ſays ſhe, is not our pre
" concern; for in the condition to which our
" tune has reduced us, with what ought we no
" be contented? I am under an uneaſineſs of a
" ry different kind, when I conſider the youth
" beauty of theſe captives; for as for my own
" my age ſecures me againſt all apprehenſion
" fear and danger;" and at the ſame time ſhe p
ed to the young princeſſes, who all revered he
their mother. " My own honour, and the glo
" the Roman people, [n] replied Scipio, would
" gage me to take care that what the whole w
" reſpects, ſhould be regarded amongſt us: Bu
" give me new reaſon to be particularly carefu
" that point, from the virtuous attention I ob
" in you to preſerve only your honour amid
" many other ſubjects of fear." After this
courſe he committed them to the care of an o
of approved wiſdom, and ordered him to treat
with as much reſpect as if they were the frien
allies of the Romans.

[m] Haud magni iſta facimus, inquit; quid enim huic fortu
ſatis eſt? Alia me cura actatem harum intuentem, (nam i
extra periculum injuriae muliebris ſum) ſtimulat Liv li
n. 49.

[n] Tum Scipio: Meae populique Romani diſciplinae cauſa
inquit, ne quid, quod ſanctum uſquam eſſet, apud nos vi
Nunc, ut id curem impenſius, veſtra quoque virtus dignitaſq
quae ne in malis quidem oblitae decoris matronalis eſtis. It

After this they brought him a princeſs of exqui- beauty, who was betrothed to Allucius prince the Celtiberians. He immediately ſent for her ents and the perſon deſigned for her huſband, l told the latter, that his bride had been kept in houſe with the ſame decency as ſhe could have n in her father's: "And I have uſed her thus, adds he, that I might be able to make you a preſent worthy of you and of me. Neither do I ſk you any other acknowledgment for it, except hat you become the friend of the Roman people. f you think me the man of probity that theſe na- ions have experienced my father and my uncle o have been, be aſſured, that there are many o- hers like us in Rome, and that there is no people his day upon earth, whoſe friendſhip you ought nore carefully to deſire for you and yours, or vhoſe enmity you ought more to ſtand in dread f." As the parents of the lady preſſed Scipio to ept of a conſiderable ſum which they had brought her ranſom, and had laid all that gold and ſilver is feet, "This ſum, ſays he to Allucius, I add o the portion you was to receive from your fa- her-in-law," and obliged him to take it. As as the prince was returned into his own coun- he proclaimed the great virtues of Scipio where- he went, P ſaying, "that a young man reſem- ling the gods was come into Spain, conquering l before him by force of arms, and ſtill more by indneſs and civility;" and ſoon after raiſing a of troops amongſt his vaſſals, he returned to him with fifteen hundred horſe.

uit ſponſa tua apud me eàdem, quà apud ſoceros tuos paren- ſuos, verecundià. Servata tibi eſt, ut inviolatum et dignum que dari tibi donum poſſet. Hanc mercedem unam pro eo e paciſcor; amicus populo Romano ſis; et ſi me virum bonum eſſe, quales patrem patruumque meum jam ante hae gentes , ſcias multos noſtri ſimiles in civitate Romana eſſe · nec u!- terris populum hodie dici poſſe quem minus tibi hoſtem tuiſ- e velis, aut amicum malis. Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 50.

eniſſe diis ſimillimum juvenem, vincentem omnia cum armis, enignitate ac beneficiis. Lib. xxvi. n. 50.

Scipio, having ſpent the winter in gaining the
fections of the people, partly by making them p
ſents, and partly by ſending back their hoſtages a
priſoners, took the field as early as the ſeaſon wo
admit. The two princes we have mentioned, In
bilis and Mandonius, joined him with their troo
[q] and declaring that their perſons only had hithe
remained with the enemy, but their inclination h
been where they knew that virtue and juſtice w
had in honour, they ſurrendered to him, and
themſelves under his protection. Their wives
children were then brought out to them, and
exceſs of joy on both ſides not allowing then
ſpeak for a long while, was only expreſſed by t
and embraces.

Aſdrubal, terrified with the rapid ſucceſſes of
Roman army, thought the only means of puttin
ſtop to them, was by coming to a battle. This
what Scipio wanted, and had well prepared
Accordingly they came to an engagement. The C
thaginians were beaten, and left above eight th
ſand men upon the field. Aſdrubal fled towards
Pyrenæan mountains, in order to join his bro
Hannibal in Italy. [r] It was after this victory of
pio's, that the people, charmed with his valour
moderation, would have given him the title of k
Scipio told them that this name, which was ſo n
revered by all other nations, was held in deteſta
by the Romans. That for his part, he was ſati
with having royal inclinations; that if they c
dered them as what did moſt honour to man,
might content themſelves with aſcribing ther
him in ſecret, without giving him the name
were called by. Theſe people, although barbar
were thoroughly convinced of his greatneſs of
in deſpiſing a character which was the admir
and envy of the reſt of mankind.

[q] Itaque corpus duntaxat ſuum ad id tempus apud eos (Ca
nienſes) fuiſſe: animum jampridem ibi eſſe, ubi jus ac fas c
coli. Lib. xxvii. n. 17.

[r] Liv. lib. xxvii. n.

Scipio dispatched his brother to Rome, with the
ws of his having conquered Spain. But he carri-
his views much farther, and considered this con-
est only as a prelude and preparation for that of
Africa.

Scipio's valour was not his only virtue, he had
onderful address in conciliating esteem, and bring-
over others into his views, by the arts of insinu-
on, as he shewed in his famous interview with
phax king of Numidia, in which [t] Asdrubal was
sent; who owned, that though he had formed
himself an idea of the military virtues of Scipio,
appeared to him still greater and more admirable
his conference, than he had ever done before.

IPIO *returns to* ROME, *is chosen Consul, and prepares for the Conquest of* AFRICA.

The fame of Scipio's victories and great virtues
l got before him to Rome, and inclined all men
his favour. As soon as he arrived there, he was
osen consul by general consent, and the province
Sicily assigned him. This lay directly in his road
Africa, and he made no scruple to own that his
ws and designs tended thither.

Fabius Maximus, either through an excess of cir-
nspection, which was suitable enough to his cha-
ter, or through mere jealousy, employed all his
reft and eloquence in the senate to oppose him,
alledged several in appearance very strong rea-
s against him. Scipio refuted them all, and con-
ded the dispute by declaring that he would sub-
to the judgment of the senate, upon which it
decreed that he should have Sicily for his pro-
ce, with leave to pass into Africa, if he thought
or the good of the republic.

Liv. Lib. xxviii. n. 18.
This Asdrubal was not Hannibal's brother.
Liv. lib. xxviii. n. 38—46.

He loſt no time, and immediately ſet out for
cily, [x] ſtill keeping in view his deſign of carrying
war into the enemy's country. Lælius was gone
to Africa with ſome troops; and it was rumour
that Scipio himſelf was arrived there with his arm
Carthage trembled, and thought herſelf loſt. S
was ſoon undeceived, but however the Carthagi
ans diſpatched couriers to the generals in Italy, w
orders to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to oblige S
pio to be recalled. Maſiniſſa, who had entered i
alliance with the Romans, and was very powerful
Africa, made warm inſtances to him to come t
ther, and even reproached him for having ſo lo
diſappointed the expectation of his allies. Sci
did not ſtand in need of ſuch remonſtrances.
inſtantly made preparations for the war, and haſt
ed his departure with all poſſible expedition.

y Scipio's enemies in the mean while had ſprea
report at Rome, that he ſpent his time at Syrac
in luxury and pleaſures; that the garriſon of
city, after his example, wallowed in debauche
and that licentiouſneſs and riot reigned through
the whole army. Fabius giving credit to theſe
ports, broke out into violent invectives againſt S
pio, and adviſed that he ſhould immediately be
called. The ſenate acted with more wiſdom
moderation, and firſt reſolved to be ſatisfied of
truth of the fact. They appointed commiſſion
who when they came upon the ſpot, found all thi
in wonderful order, the troops perfectly well d
plined, the magazines furniſhed with proviſions,
arſenals ſtocked with arms and clothes, the ga
extremely well equipped, and ready to ſet ſail.
ſpectacle filled them with joy and admiration. T
concluded, that if Carthage could be conquered
muſt be by ſuch a general and ſuch an army;
they preſſed Scipio in the name of the ſenate, f
whom they had received their orders, to haſten
depart

[x] Nihil parvum, ſed Carthaginis jam excidia agitabat animo.
xxix. n. 1. [y] Liv. lib. xxix. n. 19—25.

parture, and gratify the expectation of the public
ſoon as poſſible.

Accordingly he ſet forward, and the Sicilians
in troops to be witneſſes of his departure. Sci-
; who had already acquired ſuch reputation by
victories, and in the opinion of the people was
ſtined to ſtill greater events, drew upon him the
es and attention of all mankind. They principal-
admired the boldneſs of the ſcheme, which only
was capable of forming, and had never entered
o the head of any other general, of reducing
nnibal to quit Italy by an expedition againſt Car-
ge, of carrying the war into Africa itſelf, and
ding it there. Scipio firſt offering prayers and
ations to the gods at the ſtern of his ſhip, ſet ſail
h the acclamations, vows, and benedictions of the
ole people.

The paſſage was ſhort and favourable, and as
n as Scipio ſaw the coaſt of Africa, lifting up his
s and hands towards heaven, he beſought the
ls to favour his enterprize. The report of his
ding threw the whole coaſt into conſternation,
l terrified even Carthage itſelf.

Scipio firſt ravaged all the plain country, and then
de himſelf maſter of a very opulent city in Africa,
ere he took eight thouſand priſoners. But what
e him the greateſt ſatisfaction, was the arrival of
ſiniſſa, a very brave prince, who joined him with
nſiderable body of horſe.

The Carthaginians preſently ſent Aſdrubal a-
ſt him, with an army of above thirty thouſand
; but their great dependance was upon Syphax,
actually came up very ſoon after, with fifty
ſand foot and ten thouſand horſe. His arrival
ged Scipio to raiſe the ſiege of Utica, a maritime
, which he had begun to attack.

When the winter was over, Scipio reſumed the
, Aſdrubal was encamped very near him, and

[f] Liv. lib. xxix. n. 26, 27. [g] N. 28.
[h] N. 35. [i] Lib. xxx. n. 3—17.

Syphax lay not far off. The laſt offered ſome c
ditions of peace, of which the principal was, that
Romans ſhould quit Africa, and Hannibal retu
from Italy. Nothing in reality could be more op
ſite to the views and deſigns of Scipio, but he ſeem
to give ear to thoſe propoſals, and deſignedly p
tracted the negotiation, by raiſing every day ſo
freſh difficulty. In the ſeveral interviews betw
the parties, he had diſguiſed ſome experienced o
cers in the habit of ſlaves, with orders, when t
came to the enemy, to examine carefully all t
was to be ſeen of the two camps, their extent,
diſtance between them, and the materials which
ſoldiers barracks were built with, and withal to t
notice of the diſcipline obſerved among them, v
the orders of their guard by day, and their wa
by night. When he was fully informed of all
wanted to know, he broke off the truce, un
pretence that his council adviſed him to make p
only with Syphax; and to remove all ſuſpicion fr
the enemy, he made ſhew as if he intended to
tack Utica by ſea. When he judged it time to
ecute his enterprize, he ordered Lælius and M
niſſa to ſet fire to the camp of Syphax, whilſ
himſelf did the ſame to that of Aſdrubal. As n
came on, they marched out with their fires.
meaſures which Scipio had taken were ſo juſt,
his deſign ſucceeded beyond his expectation.
two powerful armies of the enemy were deſtroye
fire and ſword, and ſcarce three thouſand eſcaped
of the fifty thouſand and upwards, of which
conſiſted. Thoſe who attempted to paſs from
camp to the other, as judging that they alone
been ſurpriſed, fell into an ambuſcade, which he
laid in the midſt of the ſpace that divided the
camps. The ſpoils were immenſe. Several
preſently ſurrendered to him of their own acc
and a ſecond victory gained over the ſame gen
and the new army they had raiſed with great diffic
made Scipio abſolutely maſter of the whole cou

L

lius and Masiniſſa purſued Syphax to his capital, ieged him there, and took him priſoner. It was n the famous ſtory of Sophoniſba fell out. Sy- ax was carried to Rome, and as ſoon as the peo- there heard the news of ſo complete a victory, y preſently ran into all the temples to return nks to the gods.

Hannibal at the ſame time received orders from rthage, which obliged him to depart immediately. e face of affairs was much changed in Italy. He received ſeveral blows, which had weakened extremely. He had the mortification to ſee ua taken by the Romans almoſt before his eyes; could his march towards Rome divert them n the ſiege. He drew near the city without any ct, and then let fall this expreſſion, t "That he gods ſometimes took from him the inclination, nd ſometimes the power of taking Rome." But t was moſt grievous to him, he learned, that at ſame time he lay before the gates of the city, a y of recruits was diſpatched from thence for in. But the finiſhing ſtroke to his misfortunes, the entire defeat of his brother Aſdrubal's ar- of which he was informed by the head of that eral being thrown into his camp. He was there- obliged to retire to the extremities of Ita- where he u received his orders from Carthage, ch he could not hear without breaking out into r ſighs and tears, foaming with indignation to himſelf thus forced to abandon his prey. No ever expreſſed a greater concern for quitting own, than Hannibal did for quitting his enemy's country.

iv. lib. xxx. n. 20.

udita vox Annibalis fertur, potiundae ſibi urbis Romae modo non dari, modo fortunam. Lib. xxvi. n. 11.

rendens, gemenſque, ac vix lacrymis temperans, dicitur le- ni verba audiiſe. . . . . Raro quemquam alium, patriam exilii relinquentem, magis moeſtum abiiſſe ferunt, quam Annibalem m terra excedentem. Reſpexiſſe ſaepe Italiae littora, Deos ho- que accuſantem, in ſe quoque ac ſuum ipſius caput execratum, NON CRUENTUM AB CANNENSIS VICTORIA MILITEM RO- DUXISSET. Lib. xxx. n. 20.

country. He often turned his eyes towards coaſts of Italy, complaining both of the gods men; and pronounced a thouſand execrations aga himſelf, for not leading his ſoldiers directly to Ro whilſt they were freſh reeking with Roman blood ter the battle of Cannæ.

[u] When he arrived in Africa, he propoſed an terview with Scipio. The time and place wer greed on. Theſe two generals, who were not the moſt illuſtrious of their time, but might de vedly be parallelled with the greateſt princes moſt famous commanders that ever were, ſtoo lent for ſome time, as aſtoniſhed at the ſight of other, and taken up with mutual admiration. laſt Hannibal broke ſilence, and commending Sc in a very artful manner, laid before him a very li deſcription of the diſorders of war, and the ills it brought both upon the conquerors and the conq ed. He exhorted him not to be dazzled with ſplendor of his victories; that though hithert had been ſucceſsful, he ought to apprehend th conſtancy of fortune; that without going far examples, he himſelf, who was now ſpeakin him, was a flagrant proof of it; that Scipio then what Hannibal had been at Thraſimene Cannæ; that he ought to make a better uſe of opportunity, than he had done himſelf, by ma peace at a time when he was maſter of the con ons. He concluded with declaring, that the thaginians were ready to give up Sicily, Sard and Spain, to the Romans, with all the iſlands lay between Africa and Italy; that they could reſolve, ſince the gods would have it ſo, to co themſelves within the limits of Africa, whilſt ſaw the Romans maſters of ſo many foreign doms, both by ſea and land.

[x] Scipio anſwered in fewer words, but wi leſs dignity. He reproached the Carthaginians their perfidiouſneſs in plundering certain R

g

[u] Liv. lib. xxx. n. 29, 30. [x] N. 33.

ies before the truce was expired. He imputed he ills of the two wars to them only, and their ſtice; and then, thanking Hannibal for his ad- in regard to the uncertainty of human events, concluded, by bidding him prepare for the bat- unleſs he choſe rather to accept of the conditi- he had already offered, to which he made ſome tion by way of puniſhment for the breach of truce.

The generals then, each of them, encouraged r troops. Hannibal enumerated the victories he gained over the Romans, the generals he had , and the armies he had cut to pieces. Scipio eſented the conqueſt of Spain, their ſucceſs in ica, and the confeſſion the enemies made of own weakneſs, by demanding a peace. [z] And is he ſaid with the air and tone of a conqueror. armies had ever more powerful motives to di- uiſh themſelves in the field. This day was to the finiſhing ſtroke to the glory of the one or other of the generals, [a] and decide whether e or Carthage ſhould give law to the nations. I do not undertake to deſcribe the order of bat- nor the valour of the two armies. It is eaſy to ine, that two ſuch experienced officers omitted ing that might contribute to the victory. Af- very obſtinate engagement, the Carthaginians at laſt obliged to give way, leaving twenty ſand of their men upon the field of battle; a number being taken priſoners by the Romans. ibal eſcaped during the tumult, and returning arthage after ſix and thirty years abſence, he d himſelf conquered beyond remedy, and that age had no other part to take, but to ſue for upon any conditions. Scipio gave him great endations, and declared, that Hannibal had exceeded

[z] lib. xxx. n. 32.
[a] ſus haec corpore, vultuque ita laeto, ut viciſſe jam crederes, Ibid. n. 32.
ma an Carthago jura gentibus darent, ante craſtinam noctem Ibid. n. 32. [b] Ibid. 34, 35.

exceeded himself in that day's conduct, though
success had not been answerable to his valour.

[c] For his part, he knew how to make the best
his victory and the consternation of his enem
He ordered one of his lieutenants to march with
army to Carthage by land, whilst he conducted
fleet in person to its walls. When he was not
off, he was met by a vessel covered over with
bands and olive branches, with ten ambassador
it of the most considerable persons in Carthage,
were coming to implore his mercy. He sent t
back without any answer, only ordered them t
tend upon him at Tuneta, where he should
The Carthaginian deputies, to the number of
ty, came to wait upon Scipio at the place appoi
and asked peace of him in very submissive te
He called his council together, and advised
them what step he should take. The major
were of opinion, that he should destroy Carth
and treat the inhabitants with the utmost seve
But the consideration of the time that the sie
so well fortified a city would take up, and Sci
apprehension of having a successor appointed
during the siege, made him incline to clem
He granted them a truce, and allowed them ti
send deputies to Rome.

[d] The deputies being arrived there, and layi
pen the occasion of their coming, the senat
people gave Scipio full powers to act as he th
best, with permission to bring back his army
the conclusion of the treaty. The peace wa
cordingly concluded at last. The Carthag
gave up to Scipio above five hundred vessels
he caused to be burnt within sight of Carthage
mournful spectacle for the inhabitants of tha
fortunate city. He then caused such of the
allies to be beheaded, and of the Roman citiz
be hanged, as had gone over to the enemy
were now delivered up.

[c] Liv. lib. xxx. n. 36——38. [d] Ibid. n. 40—

Thus ended the second Punic war, which had
d full seventeen years. Scipio returned to
ne through infinite crowds of various nations,
m curiosity to see him on his passage had drawn
ther; and the most magnificent triumph was
eed for him, that had ever been seen at Rome.
hing was wanting to it, but the presence of
Syphax, who died at Tivoli some days before.
firname of Africanus was then given him;
whether by the army, or by the people, or by
friends and those of his own family, is uncer-
This however is sure, that he was the first
hom the honour of taking the name of a con-
ed nation was granted.

he War against PHILIP *King of* MACEDON.

his war began immediately upon the conclusion
hat with Carthage, and lasted only four years.
second Punic war was the occasion and cause of
f Philip, as is usual with politic princes, who
late their conduct by their interests, and pay a
er regard to advantage than to equity in their
rtakings, seeing two such powerful states at va-
e as the Carthaginians and Romans, had wait-
r the decision of fortune before he declared
elf on either side, as being fully resolved to join
the strongest. His interest was the more con-
d in this war, as Italy lay near his dominions,
n were divided from it only by the Ionian sea.
e considerable victories gained by Hannibal one
another, made him judge that the war would
n his favour, and determined him to embrace
arty. g He therefore sent ambassadors to him,
but

v. lib. xxx. n. 45.

hanc dimicationem duorum opulentissimorum in terris popu-
omnes reges gentesque animos intenderant: inter quos Phi-
Macedonum rex. . . . . Is, utrius populi mallet victoriam esse,
adhuc viribus, fluctuatus animo fuerat. Posteaquam tertia
na, tertia victoria cum Poenis erat, ad fortunam inclinavit,
ue ad Annibalem misit. Liv. lib. 23. n. 33.

d. n. 33, 34, & 38, 39.

but by good fortune they were taken by the
mans, upon their return home with letters fr
Hannibal to Philip upon them, and carried to Ro
This happened soon after the news of the blo
defeat at Cannæ. [h] The senate was sensible,
their dangers must considerably increase by the
dition of the Macedonian war to that of Carth
However, instead of being discouraged by such
apprehension, the Romans turned their thou
wholly upon the proper means of carrying the
into Macedonia, that they might thereby hin
Philip from passing into Italy: The taking of
ambassadors gave them time for it. Philip was
der a necessity of sending others, who at last
turned to him with the treaty they had conclu
with Hannibal. [i] Polybius has preserved it en
and it well deserves to be read. There is men
made in it of all the gods of both parties, u
whose inspection this treaty was made; and
particularly expressed, that Hannibal expected
happy conclusion of the war from the assistanc
the gods.

The Romans did not fail to send a fleet ag
Philip, which took off his inclination for passin
to Italy, by obliging him to think of defendin
own country. This prince, during the Punic
had employed his time in making expeditions
Greece, where, under pretence of supporting
Achæans against their enemies the Ætolians
made himself master of several considerable cit

[k] As soon as peace had been concluded wit
Carthaginians at Rome, the first thing that fel
der their deliberation was the affair with P
The complaints of the Athenians, who imp
the assistance of the Romans, occasioned it; a
was decreed, that war should be declared a

[h] Gravis cura patres incessit, cernentes quanta vix toler
Punicum bellum Macedonici belli moles instaret. Cui tame
non succubuerunt, ut extemplo agitaretur quemadmodum u
ferendo bello averterent ab Italia hostem. Liv. lib. xxiii. n.
[i] Polyb. lib. vii. p. 502. [k] Lib. xxxi. n. 1, &

ip. [l] And the Romans, who were always at-
tive to matters of religion, especially in the en-
nce upon new wars, omitted nothing which was
ally practised, and ordered public prayers and
ifices to be offered up in all the temples of the
s.

The consul appointed to march into Macedonia,
forward in the beginning of the spring. I shall
give here a particular account of all that passed
ing the course of the war. Peace was several
es proposed, and divers interviews had, but all
o purpose. [m] At last the battle of Cynocepha-
decided the fate of Philip. The proconsul T.
ntius Flaminius commanded the Roman army.
Macedonians were conquered, and the king ob-
d to fly. His first care in that moment of trou-
and confusion, was to send to Larissa to burn all
papers, lest they should prove prejudicial to his
nds and allies, in case they fell into the hands of
Romans; and [n] Polybius takes notice of this
icular, as a proof of this prince's wisdom and
dence in adversity; whereas before, his prospe-
having filled him with vanity and pride, had
ged the discretion and moderation of his con-
, in the beginning of his reign, into violence
tyranny.

Philip then turned his thoughts towards peace
arnest. He found Flaminius very much dispo-
o it; as it was then certainly known, that An-
us king of Syria intended to pass into Europe,
declare war against the Romans. The condi-
were the same with those which had already
offered, and among the rest, that all the Gre-
cities, both in Europe and Asia, should enjoy
liberty, and that Philip should recal the garri-
he had placed in them. The treaty was con-

vitas religiosa, in principiis maxime novorum bellorum, de-
supplicationes, &c. Lib. xxxi. n. 9.
b. xxxiii. n. 7——10. [n] Lib. xvii. p. 767.
b. xxxiii. n. 11, &c.

firmed at Rome, where his son Demetrius, wh
he had sent an hostage thither, continued for
veral years, after this great affair had been c
cluded, and contracted a particular friendship w
the Romans.

p The courier, who carried the ratification of
treaty, arrived very opportunely in Greece, at
time they were upon the point of celebrating sole
games at Corinth. The natural curiosity of
Greeks for such spectacles as these, and the con
nient situation of the place, as it might be approa
ed by sea on both sides, made the assembly alw
very numerous. But the impatience of know
what was to be the fate of all Greece for the futu
had drawn thither at that time an incredible c
course of people. When the Romans had ta
their seat upon the day appointed, the herald
vanced into the midst of the amphitheatre, and
ter silence imposed upon the whole assembly by
sound of a trumpet, he pronounced the follow
words with a loud voice: THE SENATE AND P
PLE OF ROME, AND T. QUINTIUS THE GE
RAL, HAVING CONQUERED KING PHILIP
THE MACEDONIANS, DECREE THAT THE P
PLE OF GREECE SHALL HENCEFORWARD L
UNDER THEIR OWN LAWS, FREE AND EXE
FROM ALL SLAVERY. And at the same time
over a list of all the people that had been bro
under subjection by Philip. Such agreeable and
expected news, seemed rather a dream than a r
ty. They could neither believe their eyes nor
ears, and every one wanted to see and hear th
rald again, that they might be fully assured of
happiness. When the matter was ascertained, q
arose such joyful acclamations, and so frequent

p

p Liv. lib. xxxiii. n. 30——32.

q Ut facile appareret, nihil omnium bonorum multitudini
quam libertatem, esse. Ludicrum deinde ita raptim peractum
nullius nec animi nec oculi spectaculo intenti essent: adeo
gaudium praeoccupaverat omnium aliarum sensum voluptat
Ibid. n. 32.

ted, that it evidently appeared, there was no
ling which so nearly affected mankind as liberty.
e plays were performed in great hurry, nobody
cerning themselves any more about them, nor
ing the least attention to them; to such a degree
one single joy extinguished in their minds the
se of every other pleasure. When the plays were
ed, they all ran, almost universally, in a body to
Roman general, every one striving to draw near
r deliverer, to pay him their compliments, to
his hand, and present him with crowns and
ands of flowers, insomuch that his health would
e been endangered, if the vigour of his age (for
was scarce then three and thirty years old) and
joy of so glorious a day, had not supported him,
enabled him to undergo the fatigue.

The War against ANTIOCHUS *King of* SYRIA.

The Romans, who had hitherto prudently dis-
bled their discontent, and shut their eyes to se-
l enterprizes of Antiochus, that they might not
at once two powerful enemies upon their
ds, as soon as they saw themselves freed from
war with the Macedonians, began to open their
ds more freely to him, and let him know, that
must quit the cities of Asia, which had [s] belong-
o Philip or Ptolemy; that he must suffer the
ian towns to enjoy their liberty; and that he
no longer attempt to enter Europe, or bring
rmy thither.

This prince, of his own disposition sufficiently
ned to war, was farther induced to it by the
st solicitations of the Ætolians, [u] and the ad-
of Hannibal, who had retired into his domini-
ver since the Romans, who were informed of
arrying on private intrigues and intelligence
the king of Syria, had, against the opinion of

r. lib. xxxiii. n. 44, 45.
. xxxiv. n. 58.
[s] Ibid. n. 60, &c.
[u] Lib. xxxv. n. 19.

Scipio, required the Carthaginians to deliver that implacable enemy of Rome, who could not suffer peace, and would infallibly cause the ruin of country. Antiochus publicly [u] declared himself last, marched his troops into Greece and took several cities.

[x] The Romans then, who had long been in expectation of this event, declared war against him form, having first consulted the gods upon the ces of the enterprize, and implored their assistan by public prayers and sacrifices.

Hannibal advised, in a general council held up this occasion, that Antiochus should immediately out his fleet, and land a body of troops in It which he offered to command in person, whilst king should remain in Greece with his army, ways making a shew of intending to pass thith and being constantly in actual readiness to do when it should be convenient. This advice was glected, as likewise all the counsels he afterwa gave; and whether it was through mistrust or jousy, and an apprehension lest a stranger sho have the whole glory of the enterprize, he made use of Hannibal, who might have been of m use to him than all his armies.

Besides, this prince, very inopportunely puffe by the first success of his arms, and forgettin once the two great projects he had formed of king war against the Romans, and delivering Gr y suffering himself to be carried away by a pa he had entertained for a young woman at Cha passed the winter quarter in that city, in celebra his nuptials with great feasts and rejoicings, an that means enervated the strength and courag his troops.

The following campaign shewed the effects o His troops, emasculated by luxury and plea were not able to stand before the Romans, were beaten upon several occasions. The king

[u] Liv. lib. xxxv. n. 42.
[x] Lib. xxxvi. n. 1, &c.
[y] Ibid. n. 11.

f flying from city to city, and country to coun-
, and always briskly purſued, was at laſt obliged
return into Aſia. And his fleet had no better
ceſs by ſea.

The next year Lucius Cornelius Scipio, and C.
ius were choſen conſuls. Scipio Africanus offer-
to ſerve as lieutenant, under his brother, in caſe
y would aſſign Greece to him, without diſpoſing
the provinces by lot, according to cuſtom. This
poſal was joyfully received by the people, who
re fully perſuaded that the victorious Scipio
uld be of greater ſervice to the conſul and the
man army, than the conquered Hannibal to An-
chus. His requeſt was therefore granted by an
oſt univerſal conſent, and five thouſand old ſol-
rs who had ſerved under him, followed him as
unteers.

The effect anſwered their expectation. The con-
prepared to carry the war into Aſia. [a] But it
firſt neceſſary to be aſſured of Philip's diſpoſiti-
, through whoſe country the army was to paſs.
ey found him in a very good diſpoſition. He
plied the troops with all neceſſary refreſhments,
took particular care to treat the generals and
cers with a royal magnificence. He accompanied
n not only into Macedonia, but into Thrace,
as far as the Helleſpont.

Antiochus took a great deal of pains to draw o-
Pruſias king of Bithynia to his intereſt, by ma-
him apprehenſive that Scipio's conqueſts might
after be dangerous to himſelf, and [c] repreſented
him that the deſign of the Romans was to de-
all the kingdoms of the earth, and eſtabliſh an
erſal empire. The letters of the two Scipio's,
h were given into his hand at the ſame time,
the arrival of the Roman ambaſſador, who came
opportunely, whilſt he was in ſuſpence, made
eater impreſſion upon him than the reaſons and

v. lib. xxxvii. n. 1, et 4. [a] Ibid. n. 7. [b] Ibid. n. 25.
enire 20. ad omnia regna tollenda, ut nullum uſquam orbis
m. niſi Romanum imperium eſſet. Ibid. n. 25.

promiſes of Antiochus. He ſaw plainly, that an liance with the Romans was the moſt ſecure a uſeful ſtep he could take, and concluded it imm diately.

d The ſeveral ſhocks that Antiochus had receiv both by ſea and land, made him ſeriouſly incline peace. e The magnanimity of Scipio African his moderation after his victories in Spain and A ca, the high degree of glory to which he had tained, and with which he had reaſon to be ſatisfi made him hope, that by his means the negotiat might be carried on with the greater facility. ſides, he had this general's ſon in his hands, v probably had been taken priſoner in ſome enga ment, and offered to give him back to his fat without a ranſom, if the peace was concluded. Romans, who never abated any thing in the co tions they had once propoſed, kept cloſe to th they had offered the king at the beginning of war; and thus the negotiation proved ineffect Scipio, in return to Antiochus's civility, ſent word, that, as a father and a private man, he wo omit no opportunity of expreſſing his gratit but, as a perſon employed by the public, and a c manding officer, he muſt expect nothing from h and laſtly, the ſole counſel he could give him friend, was to renounce the war, and refuſe no the conditions of peace that were offered him.

f The Romans marched ſeveral days. The was encamped at Thyatira, and learning that S Africanus was left ſick at Elea, he ſent back his to him. g The joy of once more ſeeing a ſon w he tenderly loved, made no leſs impreſſion o body than the mind of the father. After he

d Liv. lib. xxxvii. n. 34—36.

e In Scipione Africano maximam ſpem habebat; praete quod et magnitudo animi, et ſatietas gloriae placabilem eum me faciebat: notumque erat gentibus qui victor ille in Hiſpan deinde in Africa fuiſſet. Ibid. n. 34.

f Ibid. n. 37.

g Non ſolum animo patrio gratum munus, ſed corpori quo lubrx gaudium fuit. Ibid.

g held him in his embraces, and satisfied his af-
ion: "Go, says he to the deputies, assure the king
f my gratitude, and tell him, that for his present,
can give him no other mark of it, than by advising
im not to fight till my return to the camp."

In the mean time, the consul was daily advan-
, and at last came up with the army of Antio-
s. The king kept several days in his camp, not
ng to hazard a battle. The winter was approach-
and the consul apprehensive left the victory
ld escape out of his hands. Seeing therefore
troops full of ardour, he led them against the
ny. The battle was long and obstinate, but the
ory at last turned intirely on the side of the Ro-
s. The king lost that day fifty thousand foot,
four thousand horse, without reckoning the pri-
rs; he retreated in disorder with the few troops
ch were left him, first to Sardis, and then to A-
ea. This victory was followed by the surrender
he strongest cities of Asia.

Deputies soon after arrived from Antiochus, with
rs to accept of such conditions of peace, as the
nans should please to lay upon him. These were
ame as had been offered from the beginning, that
ing should give up all that he possessed in Europe,
all the cities he had in Asia on this side mount
rus, which should henceforward be the boundary
is kingdom; that he should pay the Roman peo-
ifteen thousand Euboic talents, for the expences
ne war, and four thousand to king Eumenes;
first of all, that he should give up Hannibal,
out which the Romans would hearken to no
osals. This treaty was confirmed at Rome.
e honour of a triumph was granted to Lucius
o, and he took the surname of Asiaticus.

The End and Death of Scipio.

Though Scipio had shewed so much integrity
disinterestedness in the war with Antiochus, he
was

iv. lib. xxxviii. n. 38—44.
id. 45.
k Ibid. n. 58.
l Lib. xxxviii. n. 50—53.

was notwithſtanding accuſed of having held inte
gence with that prince. Some time after his retu
to Rome, the two Petilliuſes, tribunes of the p
ple, brought an accuſation againſt him upon t
ſcore. They ſaid, that Antiochus had ſent h
back his ſon without a ranſom, and made court
him as to one who decided every thing at Rome
reſpect to peace and war: That in the province,
rather behaved with the authority of a dictator, th
the ſubmiſſion of a lieutenant: That his motive
going to the war, was to perſuade Greece, Aſia,
all the people of the Eaſt, that one man alone
the prop and ſupport of the empire, which he
before made known to Spain, Gaul, Sicily, and
frica: [m] That Rome, the miſtreſs of the world,
ed its glory and ſecurity to Scipio: That a fi
word of his mouth had more authority than the
crees of the ſenate, or the orders of the peop
And, laſtly, finding no particular of his life
was capable of reproach, they endeavoured to m
his power odious.

Scipio, without ſaying a ſingle word to the po
on which he was accuſed, made ſo ſublime a
courſe upon the great enterprizes he had hap
put an end to, that all the world agreed, there
ver was a more pompous encomium given,
more juſt one. [n] For he reported thoſe acti
with the ſame elevation of mind, and the
greatneſs of ſoul, that he had ſhewed in d
them. Nor was any one offended at hearing
commend himſelf, as his ſpeaking in that ma
aroſe from a neceſſity of defending himſelf, and
a deſire of extolling. The whole time was ſpe
debates, and night coming on, the judgment
referred to another day.

W

[m] Unum hominem caput columenque Romani Imperii eſſe
umbra Scipionis civitatem dominam orbis terrarum latere; nu
jus pro decretis patrum, pro populi juſſis eſſe. Infamia inta
invidia, qua poſſunt, urgent. Liv. lib. xxxviii. n. 51.

[n] Dicebantur enim ab eodem animo ingenioque, à quo g
rant: et aurium faſtidium aberat, quia pro periculo, non in
am, referebantur. Ibid. n. 50.

When that day came, Scipio appeared with a
ber of clients and friends, and after silence pro-
ned, " It was on the same day with this," says
to the tribunes, " that I conquered Hannibal
nd the Carthaginians near Carthage. As there-
ore it is not reasonable to spend it in debate and
ontest, I shall go directly to the capitol, and give
hanks for this victory to Jupiter, Juno and Mi-
erva, and all the gods who inhabit there. At-
nd me in this duty of religion and gratitude, as
any of you as have leisure, and pray the gods
give you commanders like me; if it be true
hat from the time of my being seventeen years
d, in proportion as you have conferred honours
pon me exceeding my years, I have also endea-
oured to anticipate your suffrages by my ser-
ces." Having spoke thus, he went straight to
capitol, whither the whole assembly followed
to the very officers of the tribunes, who saw
hselves deserted by all mankind except their
s. This was the most glorious day in Scipio's
and in point of real grandeur had something
e splendid and memorable in it, than that where-
e entered Rome triumphant over Syphax and
Carthaginians.

rom that day, which may be looked upon as the
of so glorious a life, he retired to Liternum to
d the jealousy and malignity of his accusers,
a resolution not to be present at the trial of his
, which had been put off. [o] He had too high
rit, and had hitherto supported too great a cha-
r in the republic, to be able to descend to the
of a trial.

hen the day of judgment was come, his brother
o laid the cause of his absence upon a trouble-
illness, which would not permit of a journey to
e. His accusers, laying hold of his retirement
nder him still more odious to the people, re-
quired

[o] ajor animus et fortuna erat, ac majori fortunae assuetus, quam
s esse sciret, et summittere se in humilitatem causam dicen-
Lib. xxxviii. n. 52.

quired that he should be taken by force from
country house, and brought to Rome against his
clination to answer to the accusations he stood ch
ged with. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, one
the tribunes of the people, who had ever been th
nemy of Scipio, not being able to endure that he sho
be treated with such indignity, declared in his
vour, and full of resentment against his colleagu
" What, tribunes, says he, shall this conqueror
" Spain and Africa be trod on by you? Has he
" feated four Carthaginian generals, cut to pi
" and put to flight four great armies in Spain, c
" quered Syphax, Hannibal, and Antiochus (for
" brother is willing to divide the honour of this
" victory with him) only to fall by the hatred
" envy of the two Petillii? [p] Are then no merits,
" honours, sufficient to procure a safe retreat, a
" cred and inviolable asylum for great men, wh
" their old age, if it cannot command respect, r
" at least be protected from insult and outrag
This discourse was received with general appla
and the senate soon after returned their thank
Sempronius, for preferring the public interest to
private resentment. His accusers not being abl
bear the reproaches made them on all sides, desi
from their prosecution.

Scipio past the rest of his life at Liternum, w
out so much as desiring to see Rome any more,
caused a tomb to be erected there for him, tha
might not be buried in an ungrateful country.

The Death of HANNIBAL.

Hannibal not thinking himself any longer se
in the dominions of Antiochus, retired to Pr
king of Bithynia. [q] But the Romans did not s

[p] Nullis ne meritis suis, nullis vestris honoribus, unquam
cem tutam, et velut sanctam, clari viri pervenient: ubi, si non
rabilis, invioiata saltem senectus eorum confidat? Lib. xxxviii.
[q] Liv. lib. xxxix. n. 51.

to reſt there, but ſent Quintius Flaminius to king to complain of the refuge he gave him. as by no means difficult for Hannibal to divine ſubject of the embaſſy, but he did not expect he ſhould be delivered into the hands of his e- ies. He inſtantly attempted to eſcape by flight, perceived, that the ſeven private paſſages he had e to his palace, were all ſeized by the ſoldiers of ſias, who deſigned to make his court to the Ro- s by betraying his gueſt. He then cauſed the on to be brought him, which he had long kept im to make uſe of upon occaſion, and holding his hands: "Let us deliver, ſays he, the Ro- an people from an uneaſineſs which ſo long tor- ents them, ſince they have not patience to wait r an old man's death. The victory which Fla- inius gains over a man diſarmed and betrayed, ill not be much for his honour. This day alone ews how much the Romans are degenerated. heir fathers adviſed Pyrrhus to guard againſt a aitor, who deſigned to poiſon him, at the very ne that prince was making war upon them in e heart of Italy. And now they have ſent a rſon of conſular dignity to engage Pruſias to t his friend and hoſt to death, and commit an ominable crime." And then uttering impre- ns againſt Pruſias, and calling upon the gods, were the guardians and avengers of the ſacred of hoſpitality, to puniſh him, he drank up the n and died.

ch was the end of the two greateſt men of their who both fell by the jealouſy of their enemies, xperienced the ingratitude of their country.

War againſt PERSEUS *the laſt King of* MACEDON.

ſeus had ſucceeded his father Philip in the om of Macedon, and twenty years were now ſince the peace made with Antiochus.

The

[r] The Romans having long dissembled several c
ses of discontent they had against Perseus, resol
at last to make war upon him, unless he gave th
satisfaction. [s] This prince had neither honour
religion, and made no scruple to employ calum
murder and poison for the attainment of his en
Blinded and corrupted by the flatteries of his co
tiers, he thought himself a great soldier, and ca
ble of subduing the Romans. For which reason
answered their deputies with such haughtiness
pride, as obliged them to declare war against
upon the spot. Some small successes in his
campaign served only to make him the more adv
turous. [t] However he followed the counsel wh
was given him, which was to make the best use
the advantage he had gained in a battle, in orde
obtain more favourable conditions of peace, ra
than to hazard all upon an uncertain hope.
therefore made the [u] consul very advantageous
fers. [x] In the council of war, which was held u
this occasion, the Roman constancy prevailed.
character of the nation in those times was to
great courage and magnanimity under misfortu
whilst they valued themselves upon their modera
in prosperity. The answer therefore to the
was, that he had no peace to expect, but by sub
ting intirely to the discretion of the Roman peo
and leaving the decision of his fate to them.
hope of accommodation being at an end, both
prepared for continuing the war. [y] The new
sul entered Macedonia, and marched to attack

[r] Liv. lib. xlii. n. 25—31.

[s] Hunc per omnia clandestina grassari scelera latrociniorum
neficiorum cernebant. Lib. xlii. n. 18.

[t] Ausi sunt quidam amicorum consilium dare, ut secunda f
in conditiones honestae pacis uteretur, potius quam spe van
tus in casum irrevocabilem se daret. Lib. xlii. n. 62.

[u] Publius Licinius Crassus.

[x] Romana constantia vicit in consilio. Ita tum mos erat,
versis vultum secundae fortunae gerere, moderari animos in
dis. Ibid.

[y] Lib. xliv. n. 1, &c.

; in his own country. However, as the affair of much longer duration than had been expect- the Romans grew very uneasy.

Paulus Æmilius being chosen consul, and the against Perseus committed to his care, they con- ed better hopes, and he put himself into a con- on not to deceive them. Before his departure, hought proper to make a speech to the people, rein he besought them not to give credit to any g reports, that should be rumoured against his duct. That there was a kind of idle unperien- men, who could make war in their closets at r ease, and if their views and schemes were not owed, were apt to censure the general in public panies, and pass sentence upon him. That he not refuse to receive advice, but it must be from ons that were upon the spot.

When he arrived in Macedonia, and drew near enemy, the troops, full of ardour, desired to ge them immediately, and a young officer of t merit, named Nasica, pressed him to lay hold ne opportunity, and not let an enemy escape, se flights and precipitate retreats had given so n exercise to his predecessors. He commended warmth of the young officer and the soldiers, did not comply with their desire. The march been long and painful in a very hot summer's and the army extremely fatigued with dust, ght, weariness, and the excessive heat of the He therefore did not judge it convenient to ge his troops in a battle, fatigued and exhaust- they were, against an enemy, who being fresh ying still, were in their full force.

ome days after, they came to a battle. Paulus lius shewed all the wisdom and courage that to be expected from so experienced a comman- The long and obstinate resistance of the ene- hewed they had not intirely degenerated from

[y] Liv. lib. xliv. n. 17----22. [z] N. 36.
[a] N. 37----42. Plut. in vit. Æmil. Pauli.

their ancient reputation. The great ſhock lay agai
the Macedonian phalanx, which was a kind of ſqu
battalion thick ſet with pikes and lances, and wh
it was almoſt impoſſible to break through; th
were ſo accuſtomed to join all their bucklers to
ther, and preſent a kind of iron wall to the ene
Paulus Æmilius owned afterwards, that this bra
rampart, and that foreſt of pikes had filled him w
dread and aſtoniſhment; and though he put a g
countenance upon it, he could not at firſt help f
ing ſome doubts and uneaſineſs upon the ſucceſs
the battle. In ſhort, all his firſt line being cut
pieces, the ſecond was diſcouraged, and began li
wiſe to give way. The conſul, perceiving that
inequality of ground obliged the phalanx to le
openings and intervals, divided his troops into
toons, and ordered them to throw themſelves i
the void places of the enemies battle, and not att
them all together in front, but by detachments,
at different places at the ſame time. This o
timely given, gained the victory. The phal
thus ſeparated and disjoined, were no longer abl
ſuſtain the efforts of the Romans. What follo
was bloodſhed and ſlaughter, and it is thought t
fell that day above twenty five thouſand men on
ſide of the Macedonians.

[b] Perſeus withdrew before the battle begun;
ter ſome vain efforts, he ſuffered himſelf to be t
priſoner, and ſurrendered to the conqueror;
this he did in ſo baſe and cowardly a manne
drew upon him the contempt of all that ſaw it
ſtead of exciting their compaſſion, as might
been expected in ſuch a condition. [c] He was
ried to Rome with his children; and ſerved t
orn the triumph of Paulus Æmilius.

CH

[b] Lib. xlv. n. 48. [c] N. 40. Plut. in vit. Pau

CHAP. II.

Reflections.

Question whether the reader, when he sees me meddling with war and politics, will not be pted to apply to me what Hannibal said upon a occasion. It was at the time when he retired Antiochus at Ephesus, [d] where every body stri- to entertain him agreeably, it was one day pro- d to him to hear a philosopher called Phormio, made a great noise in the city, and passed for a speaker. He was so complaisant as to go where as desired. The philosopher spoke upon the es of a general of an army, and the rules of the ary art, and made a very long discourse. The e audience were charmed with his eloquence, Hannibal was asked what he thought of it. His er, which he gave in Greek, was ill expressed int of language, but full of a soldier-like liber- "I have seen, says he, many old men that nted sense and judgment; but of all the old en that ever I saw, this is the most senseless and udicious." How extravagant indeed must it been in a philosopher, who had never seen ei- camp or army, to attempt to entertain an Han- with precepts concerning the art of war? I d deserve a like reproach, and perhaps more too, if the reflections I make were my own. s I select almost every one of them from the learned men of antiquity, who were some of very skilful and experienced in the art of war, k myself very secure under the shadow of great names, and that I may talk with them of nd politics.

reflections shall turn upon two points. I shall ndeavour to point out the character, the vir-

[d] Cic. lib. 2. de Orat. n. 75, 76.

tues, and as occaſion offers, the faults alſo of th
who have had the greateſt ſhare in the events I ha
ſpoke of, ſuch as Hannibal, Fabius, Scipio, Pau
Æmilius, Antiochus, Philip and Perſeus. I ſh
then endeavour to explain the principles of the g
vernment and policy of the Romans, eſpecially
what relates to the manner of their conduct in
time of war, with reference to their citizens, th
allies, and their enemies. And for all this, I c
not have a better authority, nor a ſurer guide th
Polybius, who was an eye-witneſs of part of the
vents here treated, was familiarly acquainted w
the great men who were the principal actors
them, ſtudied the character and conſtitution of
Roman people with a great deal of care, and ſer
as a guide and maſter to Livy, whoſe reflectio
ſhall likewiſe make great uſe of.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

The different Qualifications of the Perſons ſpoke o this third Portion of ROMAN *Hiſtory.*

WE here plainly ſee, that neither wealth,
ſtrious extraction, nor even the majeſty
throne, make men truly valuable; and that,
gorgeous and dazzling ſoever all this vain ſple
may be, it is entirely obſcured and effaced by
merit and ſolid virtue. What an idea does th
ſtory we have related leave us of the princ
ſpeaks of?

ANTIOCHUS *King of* SYRIA.

Without dwelling upon the other faults o
prince, a ſingle circumſtance may lead us i
judgment of his character. [e] Livy ſays, tha

[e] Saepe ego audivi, milites, eum primum eſſe virum, qui ip
ſulat quid in rem ſit; ſecundum eum, qui bene monenti o

t degree of merit in a man who commands, is to able of himself to act what is proper; that the ond is at least to know when to follow good nsel; but to be able to do neither the one nor other, is the mark of a little mind, without de-, reflection, or prudence. Upon this principle, at must we think of Antiochus? He had under-en a war against the most powerful, warlike, and cessful people in the world. Chance had brought nnibal to his court, the greatest general mankind ever seen. In his long war against the Romans had given proofs of his valour, prudence, and fect skill in the art of war. To these great qua-s he joined an inherent hatred of the Romans, an earnest desire of revenging himself upon n. How serviceable must such a man have been prince of the least judgment?

ntiochus at first received Hannibal with great and paid him all the honours due to a general o high a reputation. In the council of war, h he called, Hannibal persisted in the opinion ad always had, that the Romans could not be quered except in Italy. He supported his opi-with unanswerable reasons, and offered his ser-to make a descent in Italy, whilst the king ld continue in Greece, to perplex the Romans the apprehension of a powerful diversion. An-us did not disapprove this advice. [f] But it was sented to him, that he ought not to rely upon nibal; that he was an exile and a Carthaginian, e fortune or genius might suggest to him a and different projects every day; that besides, ery reputation he had acquired in war, and n of course would follow him, was too great lieutenant; that the king ought to be the sole and general; that all mens eyes and attention

ipse consulere, nec alteri parere sciat, cum extremi ingenii ib. xxii. n. 29.

ame thought occurs in Hesiod, Op. & Di. v. 291. in Hero ib. vii. and in Cic. pro Cluent. n. 84.

. lib. xxxv. n. 42.

ſhould be fixed only upon him; whereas, was Ha
nibal employed, that ſtranger alone would have
the glory of their good ſucceſs.

This was enough to turn the head of Antiochu
It was taking him on his weak ſide. A mean je
louſy, the ſign and fault of little minds, ſtifled ev
ry other thought and reflection in him. He
longer ſet any value upon Hannibal, nor made a
uſe of him. The event ſufficiently avenged the l
ter, and ſhewed how unfortunate it is for a prin
to lay open his heart to envy, and his ears to t
poiſonous diſcourſe of flatterers.

PHILIP *and* PERSEUS *Kings of* MACEDON.

Theſe princes, who ſat upon the throne of M
cedon, which had formerly been ſo illuſtrious, a
ſucceeded to the dominions of the old Philip a
his ſon Alexander, two of the greateſt princes t
ever were, wretchedly ſupported the glory of th
predeceſſors, and ſhewed that there is a great di
rence between reigning, and being really a king.

[g] Philip, according to Polybius, had all the q
lifications neceſſary in forming a great prince,
executing great deſigns. To omit the advantage
his perſon, and an air of majeſty natural to him,
had a lively and diſcerning ſpirit, capable of
greateſt things, [h] a ſurpriſing grace in his diſcou
and a memory which let nothing eſcape him; a
fect knowledge in the art of war, with a cou
and boldneſs that nothing could daunt. But
theſe fine qualities ſoon degenerated in him,
gave place to the moſt exceſſive vices, injuſ
fraud, perfidiouſneſs, cruelty and irreligion, wh

[g] Polyb. p. 329.

[h] It was, in all probability, this talent that led him into a
which is blameable indeed in private perſons, but far more d
rous in princes, and altogether unbecoming the dignity of a
I mean the taking pleaſure in raillery and jeſting. *Erat ei
natura, quam regem decet; et ne inter ſeria quidem riſu fati
geranus.* Liv. lib. xxxii. n. 44.

he great prince he might have been, made him nſupportable tyrant to his ſubjects.

lis ſon Perſeus inherited only his faults, with the ition of one vice peculiar to himſelf, I mean a lid and inſatiable avarice. This paſſion, which ne baſeſt and the moſt unworthy of a prince, he ied to an incredible exceſs. He ſuffered all the t preparations, which had been made with ſo h care, for the ſupport of the war againſt the nans, to be loſt and ruined, for fear of drawing ain ſums out of his coffers; and by that means threw the hopes the Macedonians had conceifrom them. From the ſame motive, he ſent twenty thouſand ſelect troops, which he called his aſſiſtance, but could not reſolve with himto pay in the manner agreed on. He broke his l alſo with Gentius king of the Illyrians, and ght himſelf very dexterous, in amuſing him the hopes of three hundred talents, which he ſed to give him at laſt, though he might have l with them all the forces of Illyria againſt the ans. In which, as Plutarch obſerves, he did hew himſelf the heir and imitator of Alexanhe Great, or Philip, who, by conſtantly prac this maxim, *That victory ſhould be purchaſed money, and not money with victory*, ſubdued alall the world.

e know what was his end. He beſought Pau-Emilius not to make him a ſpectacle to the Ro-, and ſpare him the diſgrace of being led in ph; *the favour he aſks is in his own power*, re- the Roman, meaning that he had no more to an kill himſelf; an action which in the darkof Paganiſm was looked upon as the proof of t ſoul. He could not reſolve to do this, and fore adorned the triumph of his conqueror, ecame an object of contempt to all the ſpectawho ſcarce condeſcended to caſt their eyes upon All the compaſſion fell upon his children, vere the more deſerving of pity, as their ten-

der

der years did not allow them as yet to be fully sensible of their misfortune.

Paulus Æmilius.

This general was the son of the famous Paulus Æmilius, who fell in the battle of Cannæ. He lived in an age, says Plutarch, that abounded with great men, and took pains to be inferior to none of them. For the attainments of dignities he did not strive, as the custom then was, to distinguish himself by his eloquence at the bar, or to gain the favour of the people by flattering condescensions, though very capable of succeeding that way. He thought it his duty to proceed by a more honourable and worthy method, to recommend himself by his valour, justice, and a firm adherence to every branch of duty, wherein he exceeded all the young men of his time.

Being admitted into the college of the augurs, he thoroughly studied, and reformed the ancient practices of divine worship, upon a full persuasion, that nothing was more dangerous than innovation in matters of religion, and that negligence in small matters leads to the violation of the most important rules.

He was no less exact and severe in restoring the observance of all the old regulations of military discipline, shewing himself terrible and inexorable to all those who disobeyed him, and [1] holding it for a maxim, that to conquer his enemies, was a necessary consequence of carefully forming his citizens under a strict discipline.

A very long interval of time, which passed between his two consulships, gave him an opportunity of applying himself particularly to the education of his children. He put them under the care of the ablest masters in every kind, sparing in this point for no expence

[1] Μικρῶ δεῖν πάρεργον ἡγούμενος τὸ νικᾶν τὺς πολεμίους, τὸ παιδεύειν τὺς πολίτας. Plut.

perſe, though poſſeſſed but of a very moderate rtune. He aſſiſted in all their exerciſes as much the public affairs would give him leave, deſigning this means to be himſelf their principal maſter, d leaving fathers (however engaged in buſineſs) is great example, of looking upon the education their children as the moſt eſſential part of their ity, and, for this reaſon, not entirely to be truſted the care and integrity of others.

The great theatre, whereon the merit of Paulus milius was diſplayed in its full luſtre, was Mace- n. When obliged to accept of the conſulſhip, he gan by requiring that commiſſioners of ability d underſtanding ſhould be diſpatched thither, o ſhould inform him from their own knowledge the ſituation of the Macedonian affairs, of the mber and quality both of the Roman and the e- mies troops by ſea and land, of the ſtate of the oviſions, magazines and arſenals, of the diſpoſi- n of the allies, in a word, of every thing that ncerned the army, without [k] which it was impoſ- le to take juſt meaſures. [l] It was one of the im- rtant inſtructions, which Cambyſes king of Per- gave his ſon Cyrus, when he ſet out for his firſt mpaign, never to engage in any enterprize, with- t being firſt ſecure of all the means and helps at were requiſite to make it ſucceed.

We have already obſerved, that Naſica very much eſſed Paulus Æmilius to fall upon the enemy, as n as he was arrived near the Macedonian camp, der an apprehenſion leſt the enemy ſhould eſcape m his purſuit. He was by no means offended at e liberty which this officer took in this remon- ance. It was a great principle with him, and he clared as much when he left Rome, that a com- nding officer ſhould hearken to advice more than y man. [m] " I am far, ſaid he to them, from thinking that generals ſhould not receive advice ;

" on

[k] Ex his bene cognitis certa in futurum conſilia capi poſſe ratus. lib. xliv. n. 18.

[l] Xenoph. lib. 1. Cyrop. [m] Liv. lib. xliv. n. 22.

" on the other hand, I am perſuaded there is more
" pride than wiſdom in attempting to do every
" thing of one's own head." He therefore anſwered this young officer in a very obliging manner [n] " I have formerly, ſaid he to him, thought as
" you think at preſent, and you alſo will one day
" think as I do now: Experience has taught me
" when it is proper to engage, and when to decline
" fighting. You ſhall know at a proper time the
" reaſons of my conduct; at preſent, rely upon
" your general." It is a pleaſure to me to quote ſuch paſſages as theſe, as they ſeem very proper to teach young perſons how to behave themſelves, and particularly to avoid thoſe airs of inſolence and pride towards their inferiors, in which authority and greatneſs are often improperly made to conſiſt, and alſo to receive the advice that is given them with docility and politeneſs.

A man that has but little underſtanding, is full of his own opinions, and the more ſhallow his conception, the leſs docile he is. [o] He thinks, that in attempting to give him advice he is reproached with the want of ability, and takes offence as if injured from another's not ſeeming convinced, that as he is the higheſt in authority, he is alſo of the moſt diſcerning capacity. A man of a ſuperior genius is in a quite different way of thinking. He knows, that an expreſſion of another ſometimes gives a great inſight into an affair. He is always ready to hear whatever is propoſed, to ſet a juſt value upon all that is laid before him, and to compare it with his own reaſons; and in this he makes a right underſtanding and judgment conſiſt.

We may obſerve in the deſcription of the battle which put an end to the Macedonian war, as [p] Polybius has done in ſeveral places, that wiſdom and temper are the proper qualifications of a general

eſpecially

[n] Liv. lib. xliv. n. 36.

[o] Ne alienae ſententiae indigens videretur, in diverſa ac deteriora tranſibat. Tacit. Annal. lib. xv. c. 10.

[p] Polyb. p. 36, 37.

ecially in the heat and fury of a battle, and that victory does not depend upon the hundred thou-d arms which make up an army, but upon the id of the general. Thus, we see in the battle we speaking of, that the timely orders given by the neral, to throw themselves into the vacant spaces the Macedonian phalanx, and attack it only in ll bodies, saved the Roman army, and gained the tory. It is to such passages as these, that Poly-s would have a reader be principally attentive; l he rightly observes, that one of the surest means obtaining perfection in the knowledge of the art war, is to study the actions and genius of the at men who have made a figure in history.

The use which Paulus Æmilius made of his victo-and leisure, is a great example to generals, go-nors of provinces, and all persons in authority, teaches them how to make a proper use of their ver, grandeur, and command. He took that op-tunity, says the historian, to visit Greece, and ing through the cities, placed his whole delight relieving the people, reforming disorders, and using his liberality wherever he came; an em-yment, adds the same historian, alike benevolent glorious, and which could proceed only from a prising fund of humanity; Διαλῶσην ἔνδοξον ἅμα καὶ φι-

Upon his return from Greece, he celebrated the lic games, to which he invited the people and gs of Asia, and gave them a sumptuous enter-ment, supplying that great expence abundantly of the king's treasures, as Plutarch says, but ving only from himself the good order observed t. But what principally was admired, was his eneſs, and agreeable and engaging manner of viour, his care to treat every one according to rank, and to oblige all, who could scarce com-end how it was possible for a man that was qua-l for such great things, to make such a figure in l ones. But the most pleasing effect of his mag-nificence

nificence was to ſee, that amidſt ſo many curioſitie and ſpectacles that were capable of attracting thei eyes, they found nothing ſo deſerving their atten tion and admiration as himſelf. It was upon th occaſion, as they were commending with aſtoniſh ment the elegant diſpoſition of his entertainmen and diverſions, that he let fall theſe remarkab words, " That the ſame turn of mind ſuggeſte " how to draw up an army in the field, and diſpo " an entertainment, ſo as to make the one formida " ble to the enemy, and the other agreeable to th " gueſts."

What I have here related of the polite, nobl and inſinuating behaviour of Paulus Æmilius, highly glorious for a general, and contains a gre leſſon for all who govern. The language of favou and obliging manners is heard by all mankind, th of merit is not ſo univerſal. It is not poſſible to b ſtow benefits upon all; his ſtock muſt be exhauſte who is always giving: But goodneſs, humanity, a juſtice, are perpetual and general benefits, who ſource is never dry, and from which no perſ whatſoever is excluded. It is a great advantage have an happy genius improved by ſtudy and refle tion, a fruitful and inexhauſtible variety of charm and graces for all ſorts of men in every conditio and of every character. ¶ To know how to app them, to blend and diverſify them, that every o may find ſomething in them wherein himſelf is co cerned; to diſpenſe the common marks of goo neſs and affection to all, by carrying an agreeab r air in the countenance, which, by a kind of mu but public eloquence, wins and charms whoever l to do with it; ſuch gentle and popular behaviou inſtead of being injurious to the dignity of gr m

q Apud ſubjectos, apud proximos, apud collegas, variis ill bris potens; *Jays Tacitus, ſpeaking of Mucianus governor of S* Hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 10.

r Vultu, qui maxime populos demeretur, amabilis. Sen. de C lib. 1. cap. 13.

ren, ſerves to exalt and render it more eſtimable. *Comitate et alloquiis officia provocans incorrupto duis honore*, ſays Tacitus, ſpeaking of the moſt amiable prince that ever was.

We cannot too often make youth read the beautiful diſcourſes which Livy and Plutarch put into the mouth of Paulus Æmilius, after his victory, which teach us how a prince ſhould bear bad fortune, and what reflections we ought to make in great proſperity. I ſhall here give a part of them.

[t] Perſeus, when he appeared for the firſt time before his conqueror, threw himſelf in an humble poſture at his feet, and dropt ſeveral cowardly expreſſions, and unworthy ſupplications, which Paulus Æmilius could neither ſuffer nor hear, but looking upon him with a countenance full of ſorrow and indignation: "Wretch that you are, ſays he to him, why do you acquit fortune of the greateſt reproach you could throw upon her, or why juſtify her by ſuch actions, as ſhew that you deſerve your misfortunes, and have been unworthy of your paſt proſperity? Why do you degrade my victory, and ſully the glory of my actions, by ſhewing yourſelf ſo mean, that the Romans cannot but bluſh at their having ſuch an adverſary? Learn then, that virtue in misfortune attracts the reſpect of its enemies, and that meanneſs of ſpirit, how ſucceſsful ſoever it may be, acquires only contempt from the Romans." However, he raiſed him up, and giving him his hand, committed him to the cuſtody of Tubero.

He then returned to his tent with his ſons, his ſons in law, and ſome young officers of his army, where, after he had reflected ſome time, without ſpeaking; at laſt breaking ſilence, "Is it poſſible, ſays he, my children, that a man ſhould be ſo far blinded by proſperity, as to ſwell with pride, and get a value upon himſelf for having conquered

[t] Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 1. [t] Plut.

" nations, ruined cities, and subdued kingdoms? " Can we think, after the great example that for- " tune has just given all soldiers of the inconstancy " of human affairs, that there is any thing perma- " nent and solid in her greatest favours? At what " time can we flatter ourselves that we are secure, " since we have frequently the most to fear in the " very moment of victory; and the fatal destiny " which overthrows one to day, and another to " morrow, in the very height of joy, often prepares " for us the severest disgraces? When a few mi- " nutes have sufficed to pull down the throne of " Alexander, who had attained the highest degree " of power, and subjected the greatest part of the " world; and we now see his successors, who but " a while ago were encompassed with formidable " armies, reduced to the necessity of receiving their " bread every day from the hands of their enemies; " shall we presume to believe our good fortune con- " stant and durable, and superior to the vicissitudes " of the world? For you, my children, the uncer- " tainty of what the gods prepare for us, and of " the issue of a fortune that now smiles upon us, " should moderate the excesses of joy, and inso- " lence of heart, which are the natural consequen- " ces of victory."

These last words were a kind of presage and pre- diction of the misfortunes which hung over his head. In short, of the four sons which Paulus Æ milius had, the two eldest, by the first marriage named Scipio and Fabius, were adopted into othe families; and of the two others, which were th hopes of his, the one died four days before his tri umph, and the other three days after it. Ther was no person whatever but was inwardly affecte with so mournful an accident, and let fall som tears at the fate of the unhappy father. Paulus Æ milius alone, suppressing his grief, expressed a cor stancy which made him appear still greater than ever He told the people, that, terrified with reflectin upo

upon such unheard of success, and expecting some great reverse of fortune, he had besought the gods to let it rather fall upon his own family than upon the republic. "Fortune, added he, by placing my "triumph between the funerals of my two children, "as though she meant to divert herself with human "events, fills me indeed with trouble and sorrow, "but ascertains a full security to my country, ha- "ving emptied all her quiver upon us. She has "taken a pleasure in exposing the conqueror and "the conquered alike, as a spectacle to all man- "kind; with this difference, however, that the "conquered Perseus has still his children, the con- "queror Paulus Æmilius none remaining. But "the public happiness alleviates my grief for my "domestic misfortunes."

It is easy to judge how greatly such a citizen, so full of love and zeal for his country, was lamented after his death. It was then they knew how far he had carried the generous contempt he always expressed for riches, which might be called his prevailing virtue. This great man, who was descended from one of the noblest and most ancient families of Rome, descended of a house that had been honoured with the highest offices and employments; this conqueror of Macedon, [u] who by the immense spoils which he brought from thence, had long enriched the public [x] treasury, left no other wealth to his children, than the ancient and moderate patrimonial estate which he had received from his ancestors, without having increased it, says Plutarch, so much as by a single drachma.

These were the sentiments of the ancient Romans. Nor was this noble disinterestedness the virtue of Paulus Æmilius alone, but that of his whole family, and, I might add, of almost all the great

[u] Bis millies centies HS. aerario contulit. Vell. Paterc. lib. i. p. 9. This sum might amount to five and twenty millions of the French money.

[x] The people of Rome were discharged from all taxes till the war between Anthony and Octavius. Plut.

men of his time. When he had made himself master of the prodigious treasures which Perseus had scraped together, all the present he gave his son-in-law Tubero was a silver cup of five ounces weight. Plutarch observes that this cup was the first piece of silver plate that came into the Ælian family, and it was necessary that virtue and honour should introduce it at last.

Fabius Maximus.

x Polybius admirably describes the character of Fabius in few words; when relating what he thought of him after the great action by which he saved Minucius his rival and enemy, he says, that the Romans then evidently saw how great an advantage the prudence of a general, and a firm well-grounded judgment, have over the rashness and senselessness presumption of a mere soldier. What indeed is principally to be admired in Fabius, and properly constitutes the general, are a prudent foresight, profound reasoning, a plan pursued, a design formed, not rashly, but upon fixed and certain principles, στρατηγικὴ πρόνοια, καὶ λογισμὸς συνεχὴς; upon which quality y Polybius, in another place, makes the success of great actions to depend; ἐὰν σύν τῳ τις πράττῃ τὸ προϊδεῖν; and which, Fabius himself says, ought to be the prevailing virtue in a general. z *Propediem effecturum ut sciant homines, bono imperatori haud magni fortunam momenti esse, mentem rationemque dominari.*

To this first virtue Fabius added a second still more peculiar to him, which was a firm adherence to the resolution he had once taken up on good reasons; a constancy which no future accident was capable of shaking, λογισμὸς ἐσώς. And Plutarch expresses himself almost in the same terms, by saying that Fabius constantly persisted in his first design and resolutions, nor could any thing alter his steadiness. Hannibal, who was a good judge of merit, an

x Pag. 225. y Pag. 551. z Liv. lib. xxii. n. 2

and military knowledge, soon did justice to Fabius, and began to fear, [a] says Livy, when he saw that the Romans had sent a general against him, who made war, not by accident, but by principle and rule; *qui bellum ratione non fortuna gereret.*

To comprehend aright the prudence of Fabius, we must take a view of the condition of the two armies. Hannibal had twice beaten the Romans. His troops, full of ardour and courage, were eager for battle. They were in an enemy's country, in want of money and provisions, their numbers daily decreasing, and all communication with Carthage cut off, so that they could have no supplies from thence. And thus their only refuge lay in victory. As for the Romans, the two preceding defeats had almost entirely discouraged them, and they were afraid to look the Carthaginians in the face. To lead them to battle in this disposition, was in effect to carry them to slaughter. It was necessary by slight skirmishes to dispel their fears gradually, to restore their courage, to fill them with confidence, and enable them to support their ancient reputation. Besides, they wanted for neither provisions nor troops, and had supplies of every thing ready at the proper times. And this led Fabius to the wise resolution of not hazarding a battle, στρατηγικὴ πρόνοια ἢ λογισμὸς συνεχής.

But what steadiness of soul had he not occasion for in persevering constantly in this resolution! His enemies make a jest of him, his own officers and soldiers insult him, Rome in general declares against him, by making the general of his horse equal to him in authority in an unprecedented manner. Yet it does not move him. He continues firm as fate. Those railleries, insults and injurious treatment are no arguments, nor make any alteration in the situation of affairs; and before he changes his plan, he must be convinced by reason; λογισμὸς ἰσός.

[a] Liv. lib. xxii. n. 23.

The success fully justified his conduct. The justice his citizens and his very enemies afterwards paid him, was a sufficient recompence for all the reports they had vented against him; and, by consenting to pass but a small time for a coward, he has deserved to be considered by all succeeding times, as the wisest and most prudent general that Rome ever produced.

Thus he made good the truth of what Livy says upon another occasion, that a seasonable contempt of glory is repaid with usury and advantage. [b] *Spreta in tempore gloria etiam cumulatior redit.*

But what I think most admirable in Fabius, is the noble and generous manner of his behaviour towards a declared enemy, from whom he had received the most sensible affront: An action great indeed, as Plutarch observes, and wherein valour, prudence, and goodness were equally displayed. He might have let Minucius perish on the occasion in which his own rashness had engaged him, and have punished him by the hands of his enemies for the affront he had received from him. These would have been the sentiments of a little genius and a mean soul. Fabius flies to the assistance of his rival, and extricates him from his danger. Let us compare the glory which Fabius acquired by this action, the joy he felt in having saved the republic, the pleasure of seeing his enemy at his feet, acknowledging his fault, and the whole army saluting him their deliverer and father, with the base and shameful satisfaction of a revengeful person, who sacrifices every thing, and even the public, to his resentment.

The conduct of Fabius towards Scipio does not appear so blameless and noble; and it is difficult to acquit his constant opposition to the design the young Roman had formed of carrying the war into Africa, from all mixture of jealousy. There is reason to believe, says Plutarch, that he first oppos-

Scip-

[b] Liv. lib. ii. n. 47.

cipio through an exceſs of prudence and precauti-
n, as being alarmed at the danger, to which he
ought the republic was likely to be expoſed; but
at afterwards, he too obſtinately perſiſted in it,
nd went farther than he ought, inſtigated by an
nmoderate emulation to check the glory and great-
eſs of a young general that gave him umbrage.

There are ſeveral reaſons to believe, that Fabius,
this diſpute, acted more from paſſion than rea-
n. He had at firſt uſed his utmoſt endeavours to
gage Craſſus, the colleague of Scipio in the con-
lſhip, to inſiſt upon his right of taking the pro-
nces by lot, according to the cuſtom; not volun-
rily to give up to Scipio the command of the ar-
y in Sicily, and to be in readineſs to paſs himſelf
to Africa, if it ſhould be at laſt judged conveni-
t. Not being able to ſucceed in this firſt attempt,
employed all his intereſt to prevent the funds ne-
ſſary for the war from being aſſigned to Scipio;
d when afterwards Scipio's enemies, whilſt he
s in Sicily, laid their complaints againſt him be-
re the ſenate, Fabius, without any examination,
ry injuriouſly and extravagantly adviſed to recal
n immediately and deprive him of the command.
eſe complaints, however, were found to have no
ndation. And laſtly, when Scipio was paſſing
o Africa, and Rome rung of his glorious actions
d victories, the language and conduct of Fabius
s ſtill the ſame, and he was not aſhamed to de-
nd that a ſucceſſor might be ſent him, and for
other reaſon, ſays Plutarch, but this, *That it
s dangerous to confide matters of ſuch conſequence
the fortune of a ſingle man, and that it was difficult
one and the ſame general to be always alike ſuc-
ful.*

t cannot be denied, but that Fabius was one of
greateſt men that the Roman republic ever pro-
ced; but theſe inſtances of jealouſy and envy a-
nſt the infant glory of a young warriour of ſuch
oes, are a blot in his reputation, and a ſenſible
of what we have elſewhere advanced, that

nothing

nothing is more rare, nor, at the ſame time, mo heroic, than to behold unmoved, or even with jo the glorious actions and good ſucceſſes of ſuch are engaged in the ſame purſuits with ourſelves. much greater degree of virtue was neceſſary in F bius to defend himſelf againſt being jealous of merit that might eclipſe his own, than was neceſſa in the caſe of Minucius for behaving with moder tion towards his rival, over whom he found he ha every advantage in point of merit.

HANNIBAL *and* SCIPIO.

I have thought proper to join theſe two gre men, and once more engage them in a war wi each other, becauſe, as both of them had virtu which were very much alike, by thus viewing the in the ſame light, it will be more eaſy to come the knowledge of their characters, and to jud which of the two deſerves the preference. I do n attempt, however, to make an exact compariſon b tween them, but only to ſet down the principal ci cumſtances relating to both. In this parallel, ſhall examine their military, moral, and politic virtues; that which forms the great general, a that which makes the honeſt man.

I. MILITARY VIRTUES.

1. *Extent of Mind for forming and executing gre Deſigns.*

I begin with this quality, becauſe, properly ſpea ing, it is that which makes great men, and has t largeſt ſhare in the ſucceſs of affairs; it is what P lybius calls, as I have already obſerved, [c] σὺν νῷ προ ϑεῖν τὸ πρατεῦειν. It conſiſts in having great views; forming a plan at a diſtance; in propoſing an e and deſign, which is never out of ſight; in taki all the meaſures, and preparing all the means nec

[c] Pag. 551.

y to make it succeed; in knowing when to seize
ourable occasions, which are always on the wing,
l never return; in introducing into this scheme
en sudden and unforeseen accidents; in a word,
foreseeing all that may happen, and in watching
ry thing without being embarrassed or discon-
ted by any event. For as the same [d] Polybius
erves, the concurrence of all the wisest measures
t can be concerted and executed, is scarce suffi-
nt to make a design succeed; whereas the omissi-
of one single circumstance, how slight soever it
y appear, is often enough to prevent its success.
Such was the character of Hannibal and Scipio.
h formed great projects, bold and singular, of
extent, long duration, capable of perplexing the
ngest head, but alone salutary and decisive.
Hannibal discerned, from the beginning of the
, that the only means of conquering the Ro-
ns, was by attacking them in their own country.
disposed of every thing that was necessary at a
ance for the carrying on this great design. He
saw every difficulty, and every obstacle. The
age of the Alps was no stop to his progress. So
a commander, as [e] Polybius observes, would
e been careful not to have engaged himself so
if he had not been before assured that those
ntains were not impracticable. The success an-
red his views; and we know with what rapidity
carried on his conquests, and how near Rome
brought to her destruction.
cipio formed a design, which seemed no less
, but met with a better success; and this was,
all upon the Africans in Africa itself. How
y obstacles seemed to oppose the pursuit of this
ect? Was it not natural, said they, to defend
own country, before he attacked that of the e-
y, and to secure peace in Italy, before the war
carried into Africa? What refuge would the
re have left, if the conqueror Hannibal should
march

[d] Pag. 552. [e] Pag. 201, 202.

march againſt Rome? Would there then be ti
to recal the conſul to their aſſiſtance? What wou
become of Scipio and his army, if he loſt the b
tle? And what might not be apprehended fr
the Carthaginians and their allies, united togeth
and fighting for their liberties, in the ſight of th
wives, their children, and their country? Th
were the reflections of Fabius, which appeared ve
plauſible, but did not ſtop Scipio; and the ſucc
of the enterprize ſhewed ſufficiently with what w
dom it had been formed, and with what ability co
ducted; and it was viſible, that in all the actions
this great man, there was nothing which aroſe fr
chance, but all was the effect of that ſolid reaſon
and conſummate prudence, which diſtinguiſh
conduct of the great captain from the caſual ſucc
ſes of the mere ſoldier.

II. Profound Secrecy.

One of the moſt certain means to make an
terprize ſucceed, is ſecrecy; and [f] Polybius requi
that a general ſhould be ſo impenetrable upon
article, that not only friendſhip, and the moſt i
mate familiarity ſhould never be able to draw
indiſcreet word from him, but that it ſhould not
even poſſible for the moſt ſubtile curioſity to di
ver any thing of what he has in his mind, either
his countenance or his manner of behaviour.

The ſiege of Carthagena was the firſt enterp
of Scipio in Spain, and in a manner the firſt
to all his other conqueſts. He ſpoke of it only
Lælius, and intruſted him with it only, becauſ
was abſolutely neceſſary. It could be likewiſe c
by ſilence and a profound ſecrecy, that another
terprize ſucceeded, of ſtill greater importance, a
drew along with it the conqueſt of Africa, wh
was when Scipio burnt the two camps by night,
cut in pieces both the armies of the enemy.

[f] Pag. 552.

he frequent ſucceſſes which Hannibal had in
ng ambuſcades for the Romans, and thereby de-
ying ſo many generals with their beſt troops,
oncealing his marches from them, in ſurprizing
n by unforeſeen attacks, in removing from one
of Italy to another, without finding any ob-
e on the enemy's part, are a proof of the pro-
d ſecrecy with which he concerted and exe-
d all his enterprizes. Subtlety, refined diſ-
e, and ſtratagem, were his prevailing talents,
all this could not ſucceed but by an impene-
e ſecrecy.

To know well the Character of the Generals againſt whom one is to engage.

is a great piece of ſkill, and an important part
he knowledge of war, to be thoroughly ac-
nted with the character of the generals who
mand the enemy's army, and to know how to
advantage of their faults. For, ſays Polybius,
either the ignorance or negligence of comman-
which makes the generality of enterprizes miſ-
. Hannibal poſſeſſed this ſcience to perfection,
it may be truly ſaid that his continual attention
e genius of the Roman generals was one of the
ipal cauſes which gained the battles of Trebia
Thraſimene. g He knew all that paſſed in the
y's camp, as well as in his own. When Pau-
nd Varro were ſent againſt him, he was ſoon
med of the different characters of thoſe two
nanders, and of their diviſions, *diſſimiles diſcor-
e imperitare ;* and he did not fail to make his
ntage of the eagerneſs and impetuoſity of Varro,
ying baits for his raſhneſs, in ſuffering him to
ſome ſlight advantages, which were followed
e famous overthrow at Cannæ.

The

nnia ei hoſtium haud ſecus, quam ſua, nota erant. Liv. lib.
. 41.

quicquam eorum, quae apud hoſtes agebantur, eum fallebat.
28.

The information Scipio had of the want of disc pline in the enemy's camps, inspired him with th thought of setting fire to them by night; the succe of which enterprize was followed with the conque of Africa. [h] *Hæc relata Scipionis spem fecerant ca stra hostium per occasionem incendendi.*

IV. *To keep up an exact Discipline in the Army.*

Military discipline is in a manner the soul of th army, which connects and unites all the parts of together, which puts them in motion, or kee them at rest, as there is occasion, which points ou and distributes to each their proper functions, an contains them all within the bounds of duty.

It is allowed, that our two generals excelled this particular; but it must be owned, that Hann bal's merit in this point seems far superior to Sc pio's. [i] Thus it has always been looked upon as master-piece in the art of war, that Hannibal, d ring his sixteen years war in a foreign land, at su a distance from his own country, with such vario success, at the head of an army made up, not Carthaginians, but a confused body of several n tions, who were neither united by customs, la guage, habits, arms, ceremonies, or sacrifices, a had even very different objects of worship; th Hannibal, I say, should have so united them tog ther, that there never arose any sedition, either mong themselves or against him, though provisio were frequently wanting, and their pay often dela ed. How necessary was it for a strict discipline be firmly established, and inviolably observed amo the troops, to obtain this effect?

V.

[h] Lib. xxx. n. 3. [i] Liv. lib. 28. n. 12.

7. To live after a plain, modeſt, frugal and laborious Manner.

It is a very ill taſte, and argues little elevation of mind, to make the grandeur of an officer or a general, conſiſt in the magnificence of his equipage, furniture, dreſs, or table. How is it poſſible for ſuch trifles to become military virtues? What elſe do they require beſides great riches? And are thoſe riches always the rewards of merit, and the fruit of virtue? It is a ſhame to reaſon and good ſenſe, it is a diſgrace to ſo warlike a people as we are, to copy the manners and cuſtoms of the Perſians, by introducing the luxury of cities into the camp and army. May not an officer or commander better employ the time, care and expence, which all this apparatus neceſſarily draws along with it, and does he not owe them to his country? Commanders of old thought and acted in a very different manner.

Livy gives Hannibal an encomium which I am afraid ſeveral of our officers may have cauſe to bluſh at. "There was no labour, ſays he, ſufficient to fatigue his body or ſink his ſpirits. He ſupported heat and cold equally. He eat and drank out of neceſſity and want, and not out of pleaſure. He had no ſet hour of going to reſt, but took that time for ſleep which was unemployed in buſineſs; neither was it procured by ſilence, or the ſoftneſs of his couch. He often lay upon the ground, wrapt up in a ſoldier's coat, amidſt the centinels and guard." He was diſtinguiſhed from his equals, not by a greater magnificence of dreſs, but by better horſes and arms.

Polybius, after commending Scipio for the ſhining virtues which were admired in him, ſuch as his liberality, magnificence, and greatneſs of ſoul, adds, that thoſe who knew him thoroughly, no leſs admired in him [k] his ſober and frugal life, which enabled

[k] Ἀγχίνους, καὶ νήπλης, καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ περὶ τὸ προτεθὲν ἐνπλεμάνος. lib. p. 577.

him to apply himself wholly to public business. He was not very nice about his apparel, it was manly and military, and very suitable to his person, which was tall and majestic. [l] *Præterquam suapte natura multa majestas inerat, adornabat promissa cæsaries, habitusque corporis non cultus munditiis, sed virilis vere ac militaris.* What [m] Seneca relates of the simplicity of his baths and his country house, shews us what he was in the camp, and at the head of his troops.

It is by leading a sober and frugal life in this manner, that generals are enabled to discharge that part of their duty, which [n] Cambyses so carefully recommends to his son Cyrus, as extremely proper to encourage the troops, and make them love their officers, and that is, to set an example of labour to the soldiers, by supporting like them, and even more than they, cold, heat, and fatigue; wherein [o] he says, the difference will always be very great between the general and the soldier, as the labours of the last are attended only with travel and pain, whereas the other, in being exposed a spectacle to the eyes of the whole army, gains by it both honour and glory; motives that very much take off from the weight of the fatigue, and render it lighter.

Scipio, however, was no enemy to discreet and well tempered mirth. [p] Livy, speaking of the honourable reception King Philip gave him, when he passed with his brother through his dominions, in their march against Antiochus, observes that Scipio was very much pleased with it, and admired the graceful and insinuating manners with which the king

[l] Liv. lib. xxviii. n. 35.

[m] Senec. Epist. 86.

[n] Xenophon. in Cyrop. lib. 1.

[o] Itaque semper Africanus (*the second Scipio*) Socraticum Xenophontem in manibus habebat: cujus imprimis laudabat illud, quod diceret, eosdem labores non esse aeque graves imperatori et militi, quod ipse honos laborem leviorem faceret imperatorum. Cic. lib. 2. Tusc. Quæst. n. 62.

[p] Venientes regio apparatu accepit, et prosecutus est Rex. Multa in eo et dexteritas et humanitas visa, quæ commendabilia apud Africanum erant; virum sicut ad cætera, egregium, ita à comitate quæ sine luxuria esset, non aversum. Liv. lib. xxxvii. n. 7.

ing of Macedon improved his entertainments: ualities, adds Livy, which this illustrious Roman, ho was in other respects so great, very much eemed, provided they did not degenerate into omp and luxury.

I. *To know equally how to employ Force and Stratagem.*

It is a just observation of Polybius, that in matter war, finesse and stratagem are often more servicele than open force and declared designs.

This was Hannibal's excellency. In all his actions, terprizes and battles, dexterity and cunning had er the greatest share. [q] The manner in which he ceived the wisest and most considérate officer that as sent against him, by setting fire to the straw that as tied round the horns of two thousand oxen, to tricate himself from a false step he had taken, may fice alone to shew how dexterous Hannibal was the science of stratagems. [r] Scipio was no less quainted with it; as we may learn from the cirmstance of his setting fire to the two camps of e enemy in Africa.

I. *Never to hazard his Person without a Necessity.*

[s] Polybius lays it down as an essential and capital xim for a commanding officer, that he should ver expose his person, when the action is not geral and decisive, and that even then he should ep at as great a distance from danger as possible. confirms this maxim by the contrary example Marcellus, whose rash bravery, which ill suited general of his age and experience, cost him his , and had like to have ruined the republic. Upthis occasion he observes, that Hannibal, who, hout doubt, can never be suspected of fear, and

[q] Liv. lib. 22. n. 16, 17. [r] Lib. xxx. n. 3—6.
[s] Pag. 603.

too great a fondneſs for life, in all his battles was ever careful of the ſecurity of his perſon; and [t] he makes the ſame remark of Scipio, who in the ſiege of Carthagena was obliged to act in perſon, and expoſe himſelf to danger, though he did it with the utmoſt prudence and circumſpection.

Plutarch, in the compariſon he draws between Pelopidas and Marcellus, ſays, that the wound or death of a general ſhould not be a bare accident, but a means contributing to ſucceſs, and influencing the victory and ſafety of the army; ὁ πάθος, ἀλλὰ πρᾶξις. And he laments, that the two great men he was ſpeaking of ſhould have ſacrificed all their other virtues to their valour, in being laviſh of their blood and lives, without a neceſſity, in dying for themſelves, and not for their country, to which genera's are as accountable for their deaths, as for their lives.

VIII. Art *and* Dexterity.

It were neceſſary to be a profeſſed ſoldier, to point out, in the different engagements of Hannibal and Scipio, their ability, addreſs, and preſence of mind, their watchfulneſs to make an advantage of all the motions of the enemy, of all the ſudden occaſions offered by chance, of all the circumſtances of time and place, and, in a word, of all that might contribute to the victory. I am very ſenſible that a ſoldier muſt take a great deal of pleaſure in reading the deſcription in good authors of thoſe famous battles which have decided the fate of the univerſe, as well as the reputation of the great captains of antiquity and that to ſtudy under ſuch maſters, and be able to improve as well from their faults as their good qualities, is a great means of attaining perfection in the art of war. But ſuch reflections are beyond my power, and do not properly belong to me.

IX. 7

[t] Pag. 587.

X. *To have the Talent of speaking, and conciliating others to his Purposes with Address.*

I place this quality amongst the military virtues, ecause a general should transcend in every thing; nd the tongue, no less than the head and hand, is ften a necessary instrument for the discharging his uty as he ought. It is one of the things which Iannibal admired most in Pyrrhus. [t] *Artem etiam nciliandi sibi homines miram habuisse.* And he makes is talent equal to the perfect knowledge in the art f war, by which Pyrrhus was most distinguished. To judge of our two generals by their speeches, historians have preserved them, they both excel- d in the talent of speaking. But I question whe- er those historians have not lent them a little of eir own eloquence. Some very ingenious repar- es of Hannibal, which history has handed down us, shew that he had an excellent wit, and that ture alone wrought in him what others attain by t and study. As to Scipio, he had a mind better nproved; and though his age was not altogether polite as that of the second Scipio Africanus, yet s intimate acquaintance with the poet Ennius, with om he chose to ly buried in one common grave, ves us reason to believe that he did not want a taste r polite learning. However, [u] Livy observes, that on his arrival in Spain to take upon him the com- nd of the troops, in the first audience he gave the puties of the province, he spoke with a certain of grandeur commanding respect, and at the e time with so much simplicity and persuasion, t without letting drop one single expression that d the least tincture of haughtiness and pride, he nediately calmed the fears of all those, whom view of the past ills had kept under terror and quietude. [x] Upon another occasion, when Sci-

[t] Liv. lib. xxxv. n. 14. [u] Lib. xxvi. n. 19. [x] Lib. xxviii. n. 18.

pio had an interview with Aſdrubal, in the apartment of Syphax, the ſame hiſtorian obſerves, that Scipio could wind and turn them as he pleaſed, with ſo much dexterity, that he alike charmed his hoſt and his enemy with the force and turns of his eloquence. And the Carthaginian afterwards owned, that this particular diſcourſe had given him a much higher idea of Scipio than all his victories and conqueſts, and that he did not queſtion but Syphax and his kingdom were already in the power of the Romans, ſuch art and ability had Scipio to draw over others to his party. One ſingle fact like this is a ſufficient proof how uſeful it is to perſons deſigned for the army, carefully to cultivate the art of ſpeaking; and it is difficult to comprehend why officers, who in other reſpects have great talents for war, ſhould ſometimes ſeem to be aſhamed of knowing any thing more than their own profeſſion.

The Conclusion.

It would be proper here to give a judgment, whether Hannibal or Scipio excelled moſt in military virtues. But ſuch a deciſion is beyond my ability. I have heard ſay, that in the opinion of good judges Hannibal was the moſt conſummate general that ever was in the knowledge of war; and that the Romans attained perfection in his ſchool, after having ſerved their firſt apprenticeſhip againſt Pyrrhus. It muſt be owned, no general ever ſucceeded better in the choice of ground for drawing up an army, or in putting his troops upon the ſervices for which they were moſt ſuited, or in laying an ambuſcade, or providing a remedy under misfortune, or in maintaining diſcipline among ſo many different nations. He drew from himſelf alone, the ſubſiſtence of his troops, the pay of his ſoldiers, the remounting of his cavalry, the recruits of his foot, and all the neceſſary ammunition for maintaining a heavy war in a diſtant country, againſt a powerful enemy, for

th

ıe ſpace of ſixteen ſucceſſive years, and in ſpite of powerful faction at home, which refuſed him e-ery thing, and croſſed him in all his enterprizes. hus he may certainly be called a great general.

I own too, that in making a juſt compariſon of annibal's deſign with Scipio's, the deſign of Han-bal muſt be allowed to be more bold, hazardous, fficult, and deſtitute of all reſources. He was ob-ged to march through Gaul, which he was to look on as an enemy's country, to paſs the Alps, which d been thought unſurmountable by any other, to the theatre of the war in the midſt of an ene-y's country, and in the very boſom of Italy, where had no ſtrong places, no magazines, no certain-of ſuccour, nor any hopes of retreat. Add to is, that he attacked the Romans at the time of eir greateſt vigour, when their troops, quite freſh, d animated with the ſucceſs of the preceding war, re full of courage and confidence. As for Sci-, he had but a ſhort paſſage to make from Sicily o Africa. He had a powerful fleet, and was ma-r at ſea. He kept up a free communication with ily, from whence he was ſupplied with his am-nition and proviſion whenever he pleaſed. He acked the Carthaginians at the cloſe of a war, erein they had ſuffered great loſſes, at a time en their power was already upon the decline, and y began to be exhauſted of money, men, and rage; Spain, Sardinia and Sicily had been ta-n from them, and they could no longer make any erſion there againſt the Romans. Aſdrubal's ar-was lately cut to pieces, and Hannibal's was ex-mely weakened by ſeveral ſhocks it had received an almoſt general want of neceſſaries. All ſe circumſtances ſeem to give Hannibal a great antage over Scipio.

But there are two difficulties ſtill to be got over, one drawn from the generals he conquered, and other from the faults he committed.

May

May not the victories which have rendered the name of Hannibal so famous, be properly said to be as much owing to the imprudence and rashness of the Roman generals, as to his own valour and wisdom? When they sent a Fabius against him, and then a Scipio, the first put a stop to his progress, and the other overcame him.

The two faults which Hannibal committed in not marching immediately to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, and suffering his soldiers to be corrupted and enervated at Capua, are likewise supposed to take off very much from his reputation. For these faults may be reckoned essential, decisive, and irreparable, and both of them contrary to the principal quality of a general, which is capacity and judgment. As for Scipio, I do not know, that during the whole time he commanded the Roman army, he was chargeable with any thing like this.

I do not therefore wonder, that Hannibal, in the judgment he gave of the most accomplished generals, after having assigned the third place to himself after Alexander and Pyrrhus, and Scipio asking him what would he say then if he had conquered him? I do not wonder that he should reply, "I "would then have taken place of Alexander and "Pyrrhus, and of all the generals that have ever "been." x A fine flattering encomium in favour of Scipio, whom he distinguished from every other commander, as being superior to them all, and not proper to be brought into comparison with any.

§ II. Moral *and* civil Virtues.

Here Scipio triumphs, whose goodness, mildness, moderation, generosity, justice, chastity, and religion, are justly boasted of. Here, I say, we have him triumph

x Et perplexum Punico astu responsum, et improvisum assentationis genus Scipionem movit, quod è grege se imperatorum vel inæstimabilem secrevisset. Liv. lib. xxxv. n. 14.

umph, or rather the triumph of virtue, which is far preferable to all the victories, conquests and gnities in the world. It is the beautiful expression Livy, when speaking of the deliberation of the nate that was assembled to determine which of the omans was the man of the greatest probity. [y] *Haud rvæ rei judicium senatum tenebat, qui vir optimus civitate esset. Veram certe victoriam ejus rei sibi isque mallet, quam ulla imperia honoresve suffragio patrum seu plebis delatos.*

The reader will not much hesitate here, in whose our he ought to declare, especially if he consults frightful description which [z] Livy has left us of nnibal. "His great virtues, says this historian after he had given an encomium of him, were equalled by most enormous vices; inhuman cruelty, a more than Carthaginian perfidy, no regard for truth, nor any reverence for what was most sacred. He had no fear of the gods, no respect for oaths, nor any religion." *Has tantas i virtutes ingentia vitia æquabant; inhumana crutas, perfidia plusquam Punica, nihil veri, nihil ti; nullus deûm metus, nullum jusjurandum, nulla gio.*

We have here a strange portrait, but I question ether truly copied after nature, and whether prejice has not in some measure drawn it in too black ours. For the Romans in general may be sucted of not doing the justice to Hannibal that due to him, and of saying a great many ill gs of him, because he did a great many to them. ther Polybius nor Plutarch, who have frequent asion to speak of Hannibal, charge him with the rid vices that Livy imputes to him. The very s related by Livy contradict the character he has n of him. To take notice only of one single utation, *Nullus deûm metus, nulla religio*, there roof to the contrary. Before he set out from n, he took a journey to Cadiz to discharge the s he had made to Hercules, and made new ones to

[y] Liv. lib. xxix. n. 14. [z] Lib. xxi. n. 4.

to him, in caſe that god would favour his enterprize. [a] *Annibal Gades profectus, Herculi vota exſolvit, noviſque ſe obligat votis, ſi cætera proſperè eveniſſent.* Is this ſtep like the proceedings of a man without religion, or the fear of the gods? What could oblige him to leave his army, to undertake ſo tedious a pilgrimage? If it was hypocriſy to impoſe upon a ſuperſtitious people, it would have been more advantageous to him to have put on this maſk of religion in the ſight of all his troops aſſembled together, as the Romans did in the luſtrations of their armies. [b] Preſently after Hannibal has a viſion, which he believes ſent from the gods, to declare to him what was to happen, and the event of his enterprize. He lay ſeveral years near the rich temple of Juno Lacinia, and not only took nothing from it in the moſt preſſing neceſſities of his army, but was alſo ſo careful of it, though it ſtood without the town, that none of the ſoldiers ever ſtole any thing from it; and even left there a magnificent monument before his departure out of Italy. He paid the ſame reſpect to all other temples; and we nowhere read, [c] as I remember, that his troops ever plundered any in the confuſion of a war, diverſified by ſo many events. [d] He evidently acknowledged the power of the Deity, when he declared that the gods ſometimes took from him the inclination, and ſometimes the power of taking Rome. [e] In the treaty he made with Philip, having firſt appealed to the gods as witneſſes, he plainly declared that he expected all the ſucceſs of his arms from their protection; [f] and laſtly, when he comes to die he invokes all the gods, who are revengers of the breach of hoſpitality. All theſe facts, and ſeveral others of a like nature, abſolutely overthrow the crime of irreligion, which Livy lays to his charge. And the ſame may be ſaid of his perjuries and un-

faithfulne

[a] Liv. lib. xxi. n. 21.
[b] Ibid. n. 22.
[c] Lib. xxiii. n. 33. This circumſtance is mentioned by Polybius.
[d] Lib. xxxix. n. 51.
[e] Lib. xxviii. n. 46.
[f] Lib. xxvi. n. 11.

ithfulneſs in keeping of treaties. I do not know at he ever broke one, though the Carthaginians d, but without his being concerned in it. How- er, I ſhall not here draw a parallel between theſe o generals with reference to their civil and moral rtues. I ſhall ſatisfy myſelf with relating ſome of oſe which were moſt eminent in Scipio.

I. Generosity *and* Liberality.

This is the virtue of great minds, as the love of oney is the vice of the baſe and diſhonourable. ipio underſtood the true value of money, which to gain friends and buy mankind. The contribu- ns which he made in a proper ſeaſon; the ran- ns he generouſly reſtored to thoſe who came to re- em their children or relations, gained him almoſt as ny hearts as his victories. By this means, he en- ed into the views and character of the Roman ople, who choſe rather, as he expreſſes it himſelf, oblige mankind by civility than fear; g *qui bene- o quam metu obligare homines malit.*

II. Goodness, Gentleness.

All men cannot be partakers of our benefits, but may expreſs our good inclination towards all. s a ſort of coin that ſeveral are ſatisfied with, and s not exhauſt the treaſury of the general.

Scipio had a wonderful talent in conciliating the linations and gaining the hearts of others by a l and engaging behaviour.

He was very obliging to the officers, ſet a juſt va- upon their ſervices, extolled their bravery, re- ded them with preſents or commendations, and aved thus even towards thoſe, who might have n him ſome jealouſy, had he been capable of it. always honourably treated that famous officer cius, and kept him near his perſon, who, after the

g Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 50.

the death of his father and uncle, had supported the affairs of Spain; thereby shewing, says the historian, how remote he was from any apprehensions of fear or distrust. [h] *Ut facile appareret nihil minus quam vereri ne quis obstaret gloriæ suæ.*

He knew how to temper even reprimands with such an air of kindness and cordiality, as rendered them amiable. [i] The rebuke he was obliged to give Masiniſſa, for giving way to a blind passion, in marrying Sophoniſba, the declared enemy of the Roman people, is a perfect model of the manner of behaving and speaking upon such delicate conjunctures. We find in it all the refinements of eloquence, all the precautions of prudence and wisdom, all the regard of friendship, with all the dignity and noble superiority of command, without the least expression of haughtiness and pride.

His goodness distinguished itself even in chastisements. He never employed correction but once, and that much against his own inclination. It was in the sedition of Sucrone, which necessarily required a public example. "And then, [k] he said, it "was like tearing out his own bowels, when he "found himself obliged to expiate the fault of "eight thousand, by putting thirty to death." It is remarkable here, that Scipio does not make use of the words *scelus*, *crimen*, *facinus*, but of *noxa*, which is far more gentle, and signifies a *fault*. He even does not go so far, as to determine absolutely whether it was a fault, and he leaves room to think it only imprudence and folly; *octo millium seu imprudentiam, seu noxam.*

He thought it far better to contribute to the preservation of a single citizen, than to kill a thousand of the enemy. [l] Capitolinus observes, that the emperor

[h] Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 20.

[i] Lib. xxx. n. 14.

[k] Tum se haud secus quam viscera secantem sua, cum gemitu et lachrymis triginta hominum capitibus expiasse octo millium seu imprudentiam, seu noxam. Lib. xxviii. n. 32.

[l] Antinonus Pius Scipionis sententiam frequentabat, qua ille dicebat

peror Antoninus Pius used frequently to repeat this maxim of Scipio, and put it in practice.

III. Justice.

The exercise of this virtue is properly the function of persons in high station and authority. It was by this virtue that Scipio rendered the Roman government so gentle and agreeable to the allies and conquered nations, and made himself so tenderly beloved by the people, who considered him as their protector and father. He must have had a great zeal for justice, as he was so exact in shewing it to his very enemies after an action, which took away all pretensions they could have to it. The Carthaginians, during a truce, which was granted them at their earnest entreaty, knowingly, and by order of the republic, took and plundered certain Roman vessels, that were put to sea; and, to make the insult still greater, the ambassadors which were sent to Carthage to complain of it, were set upon as they came back, and narrowly escaped being taken by Asdrubal. The ambassadors of Carthage, as they were returning from Rome, fell into the hands of Scipio, who was very much pressed to make use of reprisals. "No, [m] says he, though the Carthagi-
"nians have not only broke the truce, but have al-
"so violated the law of nations in the persons of
"our ambassadors, I will not treat theirs in a man-
"ner unworthy either the maxims of the Roman
"people, or the rules of moderation I have hither-
"to constantly observed."

IV. Magnanimity.

It shone out in all the actions of Scipio, and in almost all his words; but the people of Spain were

cebat, malle se unum civem servare, quam mille hostes occidere. Capitol. c. 9.

[m] Etsi non induciarum modo fides à Carthaginiensibus, sed etiam jus gentium in legatis violatum esset: tamen se nihil nec institutis populi Romani, nec suis moribus indignum in iis facturum esse. Liv. lib. xxxiii. n. 25.

more especially affected with it, when he refused the title of king, which they offered him upon being charmed with his valour and generosity. They saw plainly, [n] says Livy, what a greatness of soul there was in thus looking down with disdain upon a title, which is the highest object of admiration and desire with the rest of mankind.

[o] It was with the same air of grandeur, that when he was obliged to defend himself before the people, he spoke so nobly of his military expeditions, and, instead of making a timorous apology in behalf of his conduct, he marched directly to the Capitol, with all the people at his heels, to thank the gods for the victories they had enabled him to gain.

V. Chastity.

It is not easy to comprehend that a pagan should have carried his love to this virtue so far as Scipio did. The story of the beautiful young princess, who was kept in his house with as much care as if she had been in her father's, is known to all the world. I have related it in another place, as likewise the beautiful discourse he made to Masiniſſa upon the same subject.

VI. Religion.

I have often quoted the famous discourse of Cambyses king of Persia to his son Cyrus, which is deservedly looked upon as containing an abridgment of the most useful instructions that can be given to a general of an army, or a minister of state. This excellent discourse begins and ends with the subject of religion, as if every other branch of advice were useless without this. Cambyses recommends to his son, before all, and above all, religiously to discharge

[n] Sensere etiam barbari magnitudinem animi, cujus miraculo nos minis alii mortales stuperent, id ex tam alto fastigio aspernantis. Lib. xxvii. n. 19.

[o] Lib. xxxviii.

charge every duty that the Deity requires of men; never to undertake any enterprize, great or small, without consulting the gods; to begin all his actions with imploring their assistance, and conclude them with giving them thanks, as all good success arises from their protection, which no man can claim, and consequently ought to be referred to them. And this, indeed, was constantly observed by Cyrus with the utmost exactness, as we have said already in speaking of this prince; and he owns himself, in the discourse from whence this is taken, that he entered upon his first campaign with a full confidence in the goodness of the gods, because he could truly give this testimony of himself, that he had never neglected their worship.

I know not whether our Scipio had read the Cyropædia, as it is certain the second Scipio did, who made it his ordinary study; but it is visible, that he exactly copied after Cyrus, and especially in this point of religious worship. [p] From the time he took upon him the *toga virilis*, that is, from his seventeenth year, he never entered upon any business, either public or private, without going first to the Capitol, and imploring the assistance of Jupiter. [q] We have in Livy the solemn prayer he made to the gods, when he set out from Sicily for Africa; and the same historian does not fail to observe, that immediately after the conquest of Carthagena, he publicly returned thanks to the gods for the good success of that enterprize. [r] *Postero die militibus navalibusque sociis convocatis, primum diis immortalibus laudesque et grates egit.*

It is not our business here to enquire what the religion either of Cyrus or Scipio was. We know very well, that it could be no other than a false one. But the example that is given to all commanders, and in general to all mankind, of beginning and ending all their actions with prayers and thanksgiving,

[p] Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 19. [r] Lib. xxvi. n. 48.
[q] Lib. xxix. n. 27.

ving, is of no less force. For what would they not have said and done, if, like us, they had been guided by the lights of true religion, and had enjoyed the happiness of knowing the true God? After such examples, how shameful would it be for Christian generals to seem less religious than those ancient commanders amongst the pagans?

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

The principal Characters and Virtues of the ROMANS, *with respect to War.*

THE space of time, whereof I have abridged the history, and which Polybius chose for his subject, was, as I have already observed, the flourishing times of the Roman republic, [s] which rendered Rome the mistress of the universe, and forced all nations to own, that a people, so far superior in merit and virtue, deserved also the superiority in power and authority. It was indeed, after this time, that the Roman power, which had contended with its neighbours for several ages, within a very narrow compass, spread itself abroad like a river, or a sea which has broke its bounds, and over-run almost the whole three parts of the world with an incredible rapidity.

Plutarch, in a treatise, intituled, *De fortuna Romanorum*, gives a glorious description of the grandeur of the Roman empire, of which it may not here be improper to give an abstract. The most powerful nations of the world, says he, with their utmost endeavours, contending for universal empire, gave occasion to an horrible confusion in the universe, till such time as the Roman republic, uniting all people and kingdoms under her command, the whole took a firm situation, and a secure seat, under a government, which, taking in almost every part

[s] Polyb. p. 160.

part of the world, made them enjoy the fruits of peace and order under her shadow, by the administration of the great men she produced, in whom every virtue shone forth.——After having observed that the rapidity, with which Rome extended her dominions, did not arise from men, but God, he goes on; Rome no more measures her victories by the multitude of the slain, the greatness of the spoil, or the number of conquered cities; her atchievements are never at an end, in subduing nations, in enslaving kingdoms, in conquering great islands and vast regions. Nothing is seen there but triumphs upon triumphs, and conquests upon conquests. Philip is ruined by a single blow. Another drives the great Antiochus out of Asia. In the same year, one month suffices for the conquest of Macedonia, another for subduing the kingdom of Illyria, and putting their [t] two kings to the sword. [u] One of her generals only, in the course of the same expedition, brings under subjection Armenia, Pontus, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, the Albanians and Iberians, and extends the bounds of her dominions as far as the Caspian and Red Sea. And what is very remarkable, adds the same author, this happy genius of Rome has not favoured her only for a few days and a short space of time, nor merely either by sea or land, nor after slow efforts and long delays, nor has suddenly forsaken her, as has happened in other empires, but born in a manner and grown up with Rome, has there taken and fixed her abode, has always presided over her government, has ever regulated her conduct, and constantly procured her the most glorious successes in war and peace, by sea and land, against Greeks and Barbarians.

This establishment of the Roman empire, the greatest and most powerful that ever was, [x] Polybius says, was not the effect of chance, but the result of merit and virtue, the consequence of designs

[t] Perseus et Gentius. [u] Pompey. [x] Pag. 64.

wisely concerted, valiantly executed, and carried on with unvariable attention and ability. It is therefore useful and important, [x] continues he, to enquire what were the principles of the victors conduct before and after the victory, the disposition of the people in regard to them, and what was thought of those who were at the helm of the republic.

We have already seen what the great men were, who, during this interval, contributed to the aggrandizing of the Roman empire; it now remains to consider what was the genius and character of the Roman people.

We find it excellently described in [y] Sallust. "We "must not think, says Cato there, that our ance- "stors increased the power of Rome, in the man- "ner they did, by their numerous armies; they "had other advantages which made them truly "great, and the republic with them; at home a la- "borious life, abroad a just and wise government; "in deliberations a spirit exempt from passion and "vice.——In the field, as in the city, says the same "historian in another place, good manners and "good principles chiefly prevailed; and the abso- "lute dominion that justice and virtue had over the "Romans, rose less from the laws than their own "natural disposition. In fine, they supported them- "selves and the republic, by a double means; in "war by boldness and valour, in peace by justice "and moderation."

We must not conclude, from what Sallust says here of this happy period of the republic, or from what we shall hereafter say upon the same subject, that all the Romans, or even the greatest number of them,

x Pag. 760.

y Nolite existimare majores nostros armis remp. ex parva magnam feciſſe. . . . . Alia fuere, quae illos magnos fecere, quae nobis nulla sunt. domi industria, foris justum imperium; animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto, neque lubidini obnoxius. Sallust. in bello Catilin.

Domi militiaeque boni mores colebantur. . . . Jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura valebat . . . Duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat aequitate, seque remque publicam curabant. Ibid.

them, were such as are here described; but this was the spirit of the republic, the genius of those who governed them, y this small number drew all the rest after them, and produced these wonderful effects.

Neither must we imagine, that the virtues we have been commending were very pure and solid. We set the full value upon them, and represent them as Roman virtues, not as Christian. And yet, imperfect as they were, it pleased God, as St. Austin observes, to crown them with the empire of the world; a recompence worthy of the Romans, who expected no other, and as vain as their virtues. *Receperunt mercedem suam*, says the gospel, *vani vanam*, as we may add with a father, who expresses himself thus concerning these illustrious pagans.

Having taken these precautions, and made use of these preservatives, I shall now proceed to relate the principal virtues, wherein the Romans excelled in war. And this I shall do with all the brevity that I can.

I. *Equity and wise Caution in undertaking and declaring War.*

The Romans never lightly, or rashly engaged in a war. Before all things, they endeavoured to gain the favour of the gods, expecting success only from their protection; and z persuaded, that, as they presided in a particular manner over the events of war, they always inclined the victory to the side of justice and equity. Hence it arose, that they never took up arms without first sending heralds to the enemy, whom they named *Feciales*, to lay open their grievances and causes of complaint; nor did they declare

y Ac mihi multa agitanti constabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patraviſſe. Ibid.

z Vicerunt dii hominesque, et id, de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus foedus rupisset, eventus belli, velut aequus judex, unde is stabat, ei victoriam dedit. Liv. lib. xxi. n. 10.

clare war againſt them, but upon their refuſal to make ſatisfaction. It was only becauſe they would not omit theſe ceremonies, in which part of their religion conſiſted, that they ſuffered Saguntum to be miſerably deſtroyed, whoſe ruin, as a judicious Carthaginian had foretold, recoiled upon Carthage itſelf, and drew on its deſtruction. The Romans were alike reſerved in the caſes of Philip, Antiochus, and Perſeus, though theſe princes were the aggreſſors, and had long before broken their treaties by ſeveral manifeſt infractions.

II. *Perſeverance and Conſtancy in a Reſolution once taken and decreed.*

[a] The ſlower and more dilatory the Romans were at firſt, the briſker and more perſevering they were in the execution. This appears evidently from the ſiege of Capua only. It was reſolved by the Romans to attack that conſiderable city, the revolt of which being left unpuniſhed for ſeveral years, ſeemed to reflect ſhame upon Rome. At the time that Italy was ravaged by ſuch an enemy as Hannibal, and the horrors of the war were moſt ſenſibly felt by them, they abandoned all, and quitted Hannibal himſelf to lay ſiege to Capua, whither they ſent the two conſuls, at the head of two ſeparate armies. The ſiege laſted above a year, and Hannibal uſed his utmoſt endeavours to ſave that city, which he had ſo much cauſe to value As a laſt effort, he marches towards Rome with a numerous army. "There is no beaſt, "[b] ſays a citizen of Capua, ſo intent upon his prey, "but will quit his hold, if his den is attempted, "and its young in danger of being carried off. "But for the Romans, neither the ſiege of Rome, "nor the cries and groans of their wives and children, which they heard almoſt in the camp, could "divert

[a] Quo lenius agunt ſegnius incipiunt; eo, cum cœperint, vereor ne perſeverantius ſæviant. Liv. lib. xxi. n. 10.

[b] Lib. xxvi. n. 13.

" divert them from the ſiege of Capua." [c] The conqueſt and exemplary puniſhment of that revolted city convinced the world of the perſeverance of the Romans in purſuing their unfaithful allies with vengeance, and how unable Hannibal was to ſuccour a city which had thrown itſelf under his protection.

But this character of perſeverance and conſtancy appears to me moſt admirable in the Romans, in their treaties of peace with their enemies. The terms of it were expreſſed at the beginning of the war, and no future event could ever induce them to depart in the leaſt from them. Neither the ſhocks they ſometimes received, made them diminiſh thoſe conditions in any thing, nor did the conſiderable victories they obtained occaſion any addition; ſo firm and invariable were this people in their reſolutions, as judging them to be founded in reaſon and equity. The treaties they made with the Carthaginians, and with the three princes whoſe overthrow followed upon that of Carthage, were all of this nature.

III. *The Habit of inuring themſelves to painful Labours and military Exerciſes; the incredible Severity of their Diſcipline, and the different Rewards of Merit.*

The Romans may properly be ſaid to have been a nation of ſoldiers, born and trained up to war, from whence they derived all their glory and power, as it made their principal occupation. Their troops were not collected at random, but made up of citizens ſettled at Rome, or in the country, who fought for themſelves whilſt they were fighting for the ſtate. They were enured to military labour from their infancy. [d] *Robuſtus acri militia puer condiſcat, &c.* [e] 'Tis ſurprizing to ſee what burdens they were loaded with in a march. Every ſoldier carried proviſions for ſeveral days, one paliſade, and ſometimes more, with all the neceſſaries of life, beſides his buckler,

[c] Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 16.
[d] Horat.
[e] Cic. Tuſc. quæſt. lib. ii. n. 37.

buckler, ſword, and helmet, which were not reckoned a burthen, becauſe the arms were in a manner part of the ſoldier, and looked upon as members of his body. Their long ſieges, painful marches, remote expeditions, the extraordinary weight of their arms, baggage, and ammunition, their ordinary labour in fortifying the camp, though for a very ſhort reſidence, and ſeveral other very fatiguing exerciſes of this nature, could not extinguiſh in them their love for the glory of their country; and ſo invincible a patience enabled them to conquer the whole earth.

It is eaſy to imagine what an impreſſion thoſe bloody executions made upon men's minds, [f] wherein fathers and conſuls, to maintain and confirm the military diſcipline, which they looked upon as the principal ſupport of the ſtate, thought themſelves obliged to ſhed the blood of their own children, and of the principal officers of the army. After ſuch examples, a private ſoldier had no room to imagine that his diſobedience could eſcape unpuniſhed.

But what rendered the Roman armies invincible, was this great principle early eſtabliſhed, and inviolably obſerved among the troops, that it was an indelible reproach, and an unpardonable crime in a Roman to deliver up his arms and voluntarily ſurrender to the enemy, a principle which left no medium betwixt death and victory. Thus when it was propoſed in the ſenate, after the battle of Cannæ, to redeem ſoldiers who had ſurrendered to Hannibal, to the number of about eight thouſand, notwithſtanding the preſſing inſtances of their relations, and the want the [g] republic then was in of troops, they ſtill firmly adhered to the old maxim of not redeeming the captives, as abſolutely neceſſary in that conjuncture to confirm and preſerve the military diſcipline; and they rather choſe to arm a like number of ſlaves, than make the leaſt encroachment on

[f] Quemadmodum .... quantum in te fuit, diſciplinam militarem qua ſtetit ad hanc diem Romana res, ſolviſti .... nos potius noſtro delicto plectemur, quam reſpublica tanto ſuo damno noſtra peccata luat. Triſte exemplum, ſed in poſterum ſalubre juventuti erimus. Liv. lib. viii. n. 7.

[g] Lib. xxii. n. 60.

on a principle, upon which the security of the state depended. They easily comprehended, says [h] Polybius, that Hannibal's view in the offer he made of restoring the prisoners for a certain ransom, was not so much to obtain a considerable sum of money, which notwithstanding he wanted extremely, as to remove from the Roman troops that sense of honour and incentive to glory they carried with them to the battle, by letting them see there was a remedy left, and some hope of safety remaining for those who yielded to the enemy. [i] But the senate, by absolutely rejecting this proposal, resolved, by refusing, to confirm authentically the ancient law of the Romans, either to conquer, or die in the field. Such constancy and magnanimity, adds Polybius, disappointed Hannibal, and gave him more terror, than his victory had occasioned him joy and hope.

Add to these different motives, the marks of honour and rewards, which were publickly given after a battle, or any important action; the praises which the generals thought it their duty to bestow upon the officers, and even upon the common soldiers, as Livy observes of Scipio, and the glorious testimonies they gave in a full senate, at their return from their campaign, in favour of such as had distinguished themselves most. All this inspired the troops with inexpressible ardour, emulation, and courage. By this means private officers acquired the merit of a general, as was seen upon an important occasion, which preserved Spain to the Romans. After the death of the two Scipio's, their affairs there seemed absolutely desperate. [k] A private Roman knight, at that time very young, but of courage and magnanimity above his age and condition, who had served several years under Cneius Scipio, and had learnt the art of war under him, was chosen general by common consent, and by his valour and prudence

[h] Polyb. pag. 500.
[i] Τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐνομοθέτησαν ἢ νικᾶν μαχομένους, ἢ θνήσκειν. Ibid.
[k] Lib. xxv. n. 37.

dence saved the army. This was Marcius, upon whom our Scipio set a great value, when he came into Spain, and ever after distinguished in a peculiar manner. Able officers were formed in this manner under able generals.

IV. *Clemency and Moderation in Victory.*

It was the maxim of the Romans, to treat the people and princes, who submitted to them, with mildness and clemency; as also, to make those who persevered in their resistance, feel the whole weight of their greatness and power. This the poet has beautifully expressed in the following verse, which may be looked upon as the motto of the Roman people:

l *Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.*

"To spare the vanquish'd, and subdue the proud."

1. Though extremely incensed against the Carthaginians, when their deputies appeared in the senate in the quality of suppliants, and in an humble and pathetic tone, implored the mercy of the Roman people, their vengeance and indignation gave way to sentiments of gentleness and clemency, and peace was granted them; though it was certain that it would not have been difficult for the Romans to have destroyed Carthage, and completed the conquest of Africa. It was on this occasion that Asdrubal, surnamed Hœdus, who spoke as the principal deputy, complimented the Roman people in the following manner: m "It is very rare, said he, that prosperity and moderation meet together, and that men should at the same time be successful and wise."

l Virg. Æn. lib. viii. v. 853.

m Raro simul hominibus bonam fortunam bonamque mentem dari. Populum Romanum eo invictum esse, quod in secundis rebus sapere et consulere meminerit. Et hercule mirandum fuisse, si non ter facerent. Ex insolentia, quibus nova bona fortuna sit, immodicas tentes lætitiæ insanire: populo Romano usitata ac prope jam cotidiana læta ex victoria gaudia esse; ac plus pene parcendo victis, quam vincendo imperium auxisse. Lib. xxx. n. 42.

"The Roman people are invincible, because they do "not suffer themselves to be blinded with their good "fortune. And indeed it would be surprising, "added he, if they acted otherwise: For such only "are dazzled and transported with prosperity, as "are unacquainted with it. Whereas the Romans "are so accustomed to conquer, that they are scarce "any longer sensible of the pleasure arising from "victory; and it may be said to their glory, that "they have in a manner augmented their empire, "more by pardoning the conquered, than by con-"quering."

2. [n] The Romans kept nothing to themselves of the conquests they gained over Philip of Macedon. For the whole fruit of their victories, they reserved only for the pleasure of enriching their allies, and the glory of restoring liberty to Greece. And that this present, so magnificent, extraordinary, and till then unheard of, might not be subject to suspicion, or future change of sentiments, they withdrew their garrisons out of all their cities, without so much as excepting one.

3. They used the like moderation after they had conquered Antiochus. They exempted all the people of Asia, as far as mount Taurus, from their subjection to him. They gratified their allies with fleets, sea-ports, cities, and whole provinces, without keeping to themselves either galley or city, or requiring any tribute, jurisdiction or homage for so many countries as were conquered and freed by their arms.

4. [o] As soon as they had subdued Macedon, they reduced all the taxes and customs they paid their kings, to half the amount. They renounced the immense profits which arose from the gold and silver mines, for this only reason, because they were a burden to the inhabitants. They granted every city the right of governing themselves by their own laws, of creating their own magistrates and officers, of holding provincial assemblies for the absolute re-

[n] Liv. lib. xxxiii. n. 30. [o] Ibid, xlv. n. 18.

gularion of public buſineſs; and they granted theſe people, who had long been enemies, all the privileges of entire liberty.

5. [p] The Romans treated the Illyrians with like humanity and moderation, after their victory over Gentius. They ſuffered them to enjoy the ſame exemptions, and liberty, though they had held out ſo long againſt them; and after they had withdrawn all the Roman troops, they eſtabliſhed the ſame form of government there as in Macedon.

V. *Valour and Magnanimity in Adverſity.*

This is the moſt peculiar character of the Roman people, and ſhews beſides a force and conſtancy which nothing could ſhake or deſtroy.

This diſpoſition was never ſhewn in a more wonderful manner than after the battle of Cannæ. That battle gave the laſt blow to the preceding defeats which had already extremely weakened the ſtate. Two conſuls, with their armies, were entirely overthrown. The republic had neither ſoldiers nor generals. Several of the allies were gone over to the victorious ſide. Hannibal was maſter of Samnium, and almoſt all Italy. Such a blow, ſo terrible a misfortune, would have cruſhed any other people but them. [q] Yet neither the defeat of ſo many armies, nor the defection of their allies, could incline the Roman people to hearken to peace. They ſhewed not the leaſt ſign of weakneſs or diſcouragement; but all in general conſpired to promote the public good. The reſolution was as quick as unanimous, to defend themſelves and not lend an ear to any propoſal of accommodation.

[r] What Polybius ſays, upon the occaſion of another battle, was then verified; that the Romans, both in general and particular, are never more terrible, than when they are expoſed to the greateſt dangers, and ſeem moſt upon the brink of deſtruction.

VI. *Juſt*

[p] Liv. lib. xlv. n. 26. [q] Lib. xxii. n. 61. [r] Polyb. p. 227.

VI. *Justice and Adherence to their Engagements the Principles of the* ROMAN *Government; the Springs of the Love and Confidence of the Citizens, Allies, and conquered Nations.*

It is an opinion very anciently established amongst abundance of persons, and not entirely eradicated by christianity itself, that justice and policy are scarce capable of being allied together; that a man designed for administration should not make himself a slave to the laws; that exact probity, and a scrupulous adherence to their word and solemn engagements, would often lay a prince and minister under great difficulties; that the interest of the state should always be the rule and motive of governments; in a word, that it is impossible to manage public business without committing some injustice. *Rempublicam regi sine injuria non posse.*

Tully, in his books *de republica*, which is an extract from Plato's admirable work upon the same subject, has fully refuted this opinion. It is not only, according to him, a false and contradictory notion, to believe that no one can succeed in the administration of public affairs, without sometimes acting unjustly; but he looks upon the opposite principle as an incontestible truth, and as the basis and foundation of all the rules that can be laid down in matter of politics, namely, that A STATE CANNOT BE GOVERNED WELL, WITHOUT A STRICT OBSERVANCE OF JUSTICE IN ALL THINGS. [s] *Nihil est quod adhuc de republica putem dictum, et quo possim longius progredi, nisi sit confirmatum, non modo falsum esse illud, sine injuria non posse, sed hoc verissimum, sine summa justitia rempublicam regi non posse.*

To give the greater weight and authority to his arguments, he had put them into the mouth of Lælius and Scipio Africanus, the grandson by adoption of him we have so long been speaking of. It is easy

[s] Fragm. Cic. apud S. Aug. lib. ii. c. 21. de civit Dei.

to discern how much we have suffered by the loss of so excellent a work, which was copied by such an able hand, after so perfect an original. These two illustrious friends, Lælius and Scipio, who were the admiration of their own age, and may well be proposed to ours as the models of great generals and great statesmen, lay down this maxim as an indisputable principle in point of government, That there is nothing more pernicious to a state than injustice, and that no republic can ever be well governed, or even subsist, without justice. *Nihil tam inimicum quam injustitiam civitati, nec omnino nisi magna justitia geri aut stare posse rempublicam.*

Such were the rules and maxims of the Roman people, in the prosperous days of which we have been speaking, and this idea their allies and the conquered nations had of them. [t] Livy observes, that the loss of the three first battles gained by Hannibal, which spread such universal terror and consternation, did not however shake the fidelity of the allies. *Nec tamen is terror, cum omnia flagrarent bello, fide socios dimovit.* The reason he brings for it is very glorious to the Roman people, and gives us, in a few words, the idea of a perfect government. For the allies, says he, finding they were under a just and moderate government, without difficulty obey'd a people that was far superior to them in merit, which is the only bond of fidelity. *Videlicet quia justo et moderato regebantur imperio, nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.* The conquered nations were of the same opinion, and comparing the Roman dominion with that under which they had formerly lived, and the Roman generals with their ancient masters, they looked upon the former as men sent down from heaven, such justice, goodness, and humanity, did they shew towards them; and they blessed themselves for having fallen under the power of a people who strove to engage mankind to obey them more

[t] Lib. xxii. n. 13.

by kindness than fear, and took pains to deserve the love and confidence of foreign nations, by a mild and just government, instead of making them bear the yoke of a sorrowful servitude. [u] *Veniſſe eos in populi Romani poteſtatem, qui beneficio quam metu obligare homines malit, exteraſque gentes fide ac ſocietate junctas habere, quam triſti ſubjectas ſervitio.*

But perhaps it might be the interest of a Roman senate, to behave thus towards their allies, and the conquered nations which lay at a distance, and they shewed less regard to their citizens and natural subjects, who, for this reason, were less attached to the republic, and bore it the less affection. On the contrary, it is in this particular the Roman people is most to be admired; and what I am about to say, will clearly shew, that the greatest resource of a state is the affection of the people, their love to the government, and the confidence they have in the public faith; and that to give the least blow to it, is in point of politics, the most capital, pernicious, and irreparable fault.

After the battle of Cannæ, all seemed absolutely desperate. The fidelity of the greatest part of the allies was overwhelmed by so terrible a blow. The state had neither generals, troops nor money, and yet new raised troops and fresh recruits were indispensably necessary. They were obliged to fit out fleets, to furnish provisions, arms and cloaths. But though the state was in want of every thing, it did not want credit, and found ready and sure supplies in the affection of the citizens.

[x] The consul urged, that the magistrates ought to set the example to the senate, and the senate to the people, of assisting the republic in the extremity to which they were reduced; that the way to engage the lower people to contribute of their substance to the support of the state, was to begin with doing it themselves; that thus they ought all to bring their gold and silver into the public treasury. This was

[u] Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 49. [x] Lib. xxvi. n. 36.

immediately done, and with so much zeal, that the receivers and notaries were scarce sufficient to answer the eagerness of the public, every one striving for the honour of subscribing first: The order of senators, and then the people did the same, without requiring for all this any public edict.

y Of the thirty colonies in Italy, eighteen sent deputies to Rome, to declare they were ready to furnish the troops required of them, and even more if it was judged necessary; that, thanks to the gods, they wanted neither means nor courage to do it. *Ad id sibi neque opes deesse, animum etiam superesse.* These deputies were received, both by the senate and people, with loud acclamations, and extraordinary marks of joy and honour. Livy has thought proper to preserve the names of these colonies in his history, z that they might not, says he, want the honour so many ages after, which is so justly their due. For the other twelve colonies who refused to raise the levies required, the senate thought it most suitable to the dignity of the Roman people, to punish them only by taking no notice of them. *Ea tacita castigatio magis ex dignitate populi Romani visa est.*

They received at the same time letters from the two Scipio's, who commanded in Spain, by which though they undertook to supply the soldiers pay of themselves, they required cloaths and provisions to be sent them immediately, or otherwise it would be impossible to preserve the province. The republic were unable to supply them in the condition it then was. The prætor called an assembly, and laid before the people the necessities of the public, and the a impossibility the state was in of supplying them, it wanted credit as well as money. He exhorted tho

y This was some time after.

z Ne nunc quidem post tot secula fileantur, fraudenturve laus sua. Liv. lib. xxvii n. 12.

a Itaque, nisi fide staret respublica, opibus non staturam. Liv. xxiii. n. 48.

thoſe who in times paſt had increaſed their eſtates by farming the revenues of the Roman people, now to lend the republic a part of the ſubſtance they had gained by it, and to make advances for Spain, with a promiſe, that theſe ſums ſhould be exactly repaid them, as ſoon as the ſtate ſhould be in a condition to do it. Three powerful companies offered their aſſiſtance, and the armies in Spain were as plentifully ſupplied, as in the times of the greateſt opulence.

[a] This noble diſintereſtedneſs and ardent zeal reigned equally in all the orders and bodies of the ſtate.

[b] The fleet were in want of ſeamen and proviſions. It was agreed to lay a general tax upon every member of the ſtate, in proportion to the rank and revenue of every private man, and the thing was executed without delay or murmur.

The public buildings were fallen to decay for want of a proper fund for the repairing of them. The undertakers chearfully went about it, without requiring any money for their work, till the war ſhould be ended.

In this common emulation and general diſpoſition of the ſtate, to aid and ſupport the public treaſury, they firſt brought in the orphan's money, and then the widows; [c] thoſe who had it in poſſeſſion judging they could not depoſite it in a more ſecure and ſacred aſylum, than in that of the public credit.

This generoſity paſſed from the city into the camp. Every horſeman, centurion, and officer refuſed their pay, and whoever took it was looked upon as a mercenary wretch.

The event ſhewed, that they had reaſon to rely upon the republic. Every debt, every ſum of money advanced, with every obligation, was diſcharged with the utmoſt exactneſs. They would have even

paid

[a] Hi mores eaque caritas patriae per omnes ordines velut tenore no pertinebat. Liv. lib. xxiii. n 49. [b] Lib. xxiv. n. 11.
[c] Nuſquam ea tutius ſanctiuſque deponere credentibus, qui defebant, quam in publica fide. Ibid. n. 18.

paid off some of them before the term agreed on; and notwithstanding the scarcity of money, they offered the masters of the slaves that were restored to their liberty, to pay the full price for them; but all declared they would not receive it till the war was terminated.

It is from such facts as these we must form a just idea of the Roman government. That single expression which I have quoted, and which might deserve to be engraven in letters of gold, *that they found no asylum more secure or more sacred, wherein to deposite the money of orphans and widows, than that of the public faith:* This single expression, I say, is the highest encomium that can be imagined of the Roman character. We learn from thence, that according to the constant maxim of all the great men of antiquity, the most famous legislators, and wisest politicians, the design and supreme rule of government is the good of the public, and the safety of the people. [d] *Salus populi suprema lex esto;* the affection of the people also, and their confidence in the justice and integrity of those who governe them, are the firmest support, and sometimes the safety and sole resource of states.

VII. *Respect for* RELIGION.

We need but open the historians, to be convince that religion prevailed in every thing amongst the Romans. Were they to undertake a war, or engage in a battle, they consulted the gods, implore their assistance, and employed all the proper means of rendering them favourable. Had they obtain a victory or any advantage, they presently order public thanksgivings, sacrifices, and festivals, and the concourse of people in all the temples was incredible. [e] Hannibal was scarce set out upon his return into Africa, but they blamed themselves for their delay in returning thanks to the gods, for benefit so long expected, and so little hoped for

[d] Cic. lib. de leg. n. 8.

[e] Liv. lib. xxx. n. 21.

[f] It was a prevailing principle among them, that piety towards the gods was the cause of all their good success, as the neglect of their worship brought upon them all their misfortunes. Hence it came to pass, says Polybius [g], that the Romans, in any pressing necessity, so diligently applied themselves to gain the favour of gods and men, and that in all the ceremonies of religion, which such sort of conjunctures required, there was nothing mean or unworthy their grandeur to be found. [h] And in another place he observes, that what raised the Roman people to such a degree of superiority above all other nations, was their respect for religion and fear of the gods, though in other places it was often treated as the sign of a mean and narrow spirit. Among the Greeks, adds he, let them take what pains they please to tie up the hands of those who are intrusted with the public money, by a thousand precautions of signatures, witnesses, securities, and overseers; it is all insufficient to keep them honest: whereas, amongst the Romans, the religion of an oath only, keeps their hands clean in the management of far more considerable sums; nothing being more rare at Rome, than to have a general or a governor convicted of embezzling the public treasury.

VIII. *The Love of* GLORY.

I shall conclude with this article, because the disposition I am now speaking of, was the soul of all the actions of the Romans. [i] St. Augustin makes his reflection in several places, and observes that his passion, I mean the thirst of glory, extinguished in them every other passion; that all their most beautiful and glorious actions, which have gained them

[f] Intuemini horum deinceps annorum vel secundas res vel adversas, invenietis omnia prospere evenisse sequentibus deos, adversa irritantibus. Liv. lib. v. n. 51.

[g] Pag. 262. [h] Pag. 498. [i] De civ. Dei, l. v. c. 12.

them the admiration of all people and all ages, were intirely owing to this. The deſire of being eſteemed and commended, as defenders and protectors of liberty, juſtice and laws, and as enemies of injuſtice, violence and tyranny; this deſire, I ſay, was as a kind of curb, which reſtrained and moderated their ambition, and inſpired them with thoſe ſentiments of goodneſs, clemency and generoſity, with the ſimple relation of which we are ſtill charmed after ſo many ages.

Was ever any day more glorious to the Roman empire, than when, by her order, liberty was reſtored to all the ſtates of Greece, and the edict for it publiſhed amidſt the joyful acclamations and applauſes of ſo many people? How great an encomium was that then heard through all Greece, the ſound of which ſoon after paſſed through the whole univerſe, [k] that there was a nation upon earth which ſcrupled not to take upon itſelf the expences, fatigues and dangers of long and laborious wars, to procure the liberty of nations remote from their country; and which croſſed the ſeas to prevent there being an unjuſt government or empire in any part of the world, and to eſtabliſh juſtice, equity and laws univerſally?

Upon theſe motives the Romans acted in the flouriſhing ages of the republic. It was this ſpirit which animated their conſuls and their generals. [l] They aſpired to rule, but by the methods of honour and glory, and to this end they ſtrictly obſerved juſtice and the laws; whereas, in after ages, ambition being no longer kept in, nor moderated by this reſtraint, it acted the laſt exceſſes of injuſtice, violence and cruelty, as may be ſeen under Marius, Sylla, Cæſar and Anthony.

[k] Eſſe aliquam in terris gentem, quae ſua impenſa, ſuo labore, periculo, bella gerat pro libertate aliorum, nec hoc finitimis atque propinquae vicinitatis hominibus, aut terris continenti junctis praeſtet: maria trajiciat, ne quid toto orbe terrarum injuſtum imperioſum ſit, et ubique jus, fas, lex potentiſſima ſint. Liv. lib. xxxiii. n. 3.

[l] Salluſt. in bello Catilin.

In the history of the Maccabees [m], we have a particular account of the virtues, by which the Romans raised their republic to that height of glory and power to which it attained. Their counsel and wisdom are particularly commended. Their unity to promote the public good, their particular disinterestedness, their obedience to the laws and lawful authority, their faith in treaties, their patience in labour, their constancy in their resolutions, their courage and valour, and, above all, their love of equality, and remoteness from all ambition: These virtues, although defective in their end and motives, as they were not referred to God, but to vain glory, were, notwithstanding, very valuable in themselves, with respect to the rules and duties of civil society.

I cannot better conclude this article, than with the solid reflection of St. Augustin [n], upon the causes of the Roman power. "Though they were 'void, says he, of true piety, which consists in the 'sincere worship of the true God, they observed, 'notwithstanding, certain rules of probity and justice, which are the foundation of a state, contribute to its increase, and serve to establish it. And it pleased God to grant them an incredible success, to shew, by the example of so great and powerful an empire, how useful civil and political virtues are, though separate from true religion, and to let other men thereby see how valuable they become, when exalted and ennobled by true religion, and in what manner they may thereby become citizens of another country, where truth is king, charity the law, and whose duration is eternity. *Cujus rex veritas, cujus lex charitas, cujus modus æternitas.*"

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[m] Maccab. lib. 1. c. 8.
[n] S. Aug. ep. 138. ad Marcell. c. 3.

The FOURTH PIECE of ROMAN HISTORY.

The Change of the ROMAN *Republic into a Monarchy, foretold and observed by the Historian* POLYBIUS, *in the sixth Book of his History.*

I SHALL divide what I have to say upon this subject into two parts. In the first, I shall give a short account of the principles which Polybius lays down upon the different sorts of governments, and on which he formed conjectures that foretold the change which was to happen in the Roman republic. In the second I shall explain, as briefly as I can, how this change actually came to pass, after the manner, and for the reasons which Polybius had expressed.

I think myself obliged to inform my readers, in the beginning of this little dissertation, that when I speak of the different sorts of government, and the judgment to be formed of them, I only relate the sentiments of Polybius. For my own part, I adhere to the decision which is found in ° Herodotus, where the monarchical state is preferred to the other two.

CHAP. I.

The Principles of POLYBIUS *upon the different Sorts of Government, and particularly that of the* ROMANS.

THE different sorts of government are generally reduced to three kinds; the one where the king governs, which Polybius calls βασιλια; *Regal government*

° Herod. lib. iii. c. 80.

ment; another in which the nobility have the supreme authority, which is called an *aristocracy*; and a third which is called a *democracy*, where the whole power of the state is vested in the people.

Every one of these forms of government has another which very much resembles it, borders upon it, and into which it often degenerates, whereof mention shall be made hereafter.

A perfect government would be that which should unite in itself all the advantages of the three former, and avoid the dangers and inconveniencies they include.

Such was the government of Sparta. Lycurgus being sensible that the three forms of government we have mentioned, had each of them great inconveniencies, which were almost inevitable; that royalty sometimes degenerated into tyranny and arbitrary power; aristocracy into an unjust dominion of some particular persons, and the power of the people into anarchy and confusion; Lycurgus, I say, contrived to introduce these three forms of government into that of Sparta, and in a manner blend them into one; insomuch that the royal athority was balanced by the power of the people, and a third order composed of the elders and wisemen of the republic served as a counterpoise to the two former, to hold them constantly in a kind of equilibrium, and hinder the one from rising too much above the other. This wise legislator was not mistaken in his views, and no republic ever preserved its laws, its customs, and its liberty so long as that of Sparta. The institutions of Lycurgus, indeed, were by no means proper for a state determined upon conquests and aggrandizing itself, which therefore did not enter at all into the scheme or design, as this wise legislator did not place the solid happiness of a people in it. It was his intention that the Spartans confining themselves within the natural bounds of their country, without any thoughts of invading the territories of

another, ſhould by their juſtice and moderation, ſtill more than by their power, become the maſters and arbiters of the fate of all the other people of Greece, which in his opinion was no leſs glorious than to carry the ſucceſs of their arms abroad. Nor did they fall from their glory, till they departed from theſe wiſe views of the legiſlator. For when they were obliged to furniſh proviſions out of their own territories, to fit out fleets, pay ſeamen, and defray the expences of a long war, their iron money was no longer of any uſe to them; and this laid them under a neceſſity, as haughty as they were, of ſervilely making their court to the grandees of Perſia, to obtain money of them, every where current, and of becoming voluntary ſlaves before they were ſubdued by force.

If the glory of a ſtate, ſays Polybius, is made to conſiſt in the aggrandizing and extending itſelf, in making conqueſts, in ruling over many people, and attracting the eyes of the whole earth, it muſt be owned that no government had ever ſo many advantages, nor was ſo calculated for the obtaining this end as that of the Romans. Like the government of Sparta, it united in one the three forms of authority we have mentioned. The conſuls held the place of Kings; the ſenate formed the public council, and the people had a great ſhare in the adminiſtration. There was only this difference in it, that it was not by a plan and deſign laid down from the beginning as at Sparta, but by the conſequence of events, that Rome aſſumed this form of government? every one of the three parties which made up the body of the ſtate had a diſtinct power; the deſcription of which may not here be diſagreeable, as it may very much contribute to the underſtanding of the Roman hiſtory. Polybius is very particular upon this ſubject.

The Power of the CONSULS.

Whilſt the conſuls reſided at Rome, they had the adm

administration of all public affairs. All the other magistrates, except the tribunes of the people, were subject to them, and obliged to obey them. Upon them turned whatever related to the deliberations of the senate. They admitted ambassadors into it; proposed the public affairs, and reduced its resolutions to form in writing. They carried them to the people, called assemblies for that purpose, in which they were to deliberate of the common affairs of the republic, laid before them the decrees of the senate for their examination, and according to the importance of the subject, after a deliberation, attended with many other formalities, concluded by the majority of voices. They presided in the creation of the magistrates of the republic, and for this reason were so frequently recalled from the army, and were not ordinarily allowed to be both absent from Italy.

As to war and military expeditions, the consuls had almost sovereign power; they had the care of raising armies, of settling the number of troops, which the allies were separately to furnish, and of nominating the principal officers to serve under them. When they were in the field, they had the right of condemning and punishing without appeal. They disposed of the public money at their pleasure, and applied it as they judged convenient; the quæstor constantly attending them and supplying them with such sums as they required, out of the funds assigned to them for the service; so that considering the Roman republic in this point, one would be almost inclined to think it governed by a regal and monarchical authority.

The Power of the SENATE.

The senate almost absolutely disposed of the finances and public treasure. They took account of all the revenues and expences of the state, and the quæstors could not deliver out any sum, except to the consuls, without a decree of the senate. The case

was the same with reference to all the expences the censors were obliged to be at for the support and repairs of the public buildings.

The senate nominated commissioners to take cognizance of all the extraordinary crimes which were committed at Rome and in Italy, and demanded the attention of the public authority, such as treason, conspiracy, poisoning and murder, and to pass sentence upon them. The affairs and causes of private men or cities, which had any relation to the state, were also judged by the senate. It was the senate which sent ambassadors, declared war against the enemies of the state, granted audience, and gave answers to the deputies and ambassadors of foreign people and princes. It was the senate likewise which sent commissioners abroad, to hear the complaints of the allies, to regulate the limits and the frontiers, to see good order observed in the provinces, and to decide the pretensions of states and kingdoms. Thus a stranger, who should have come to Rome in the absence of the consuls, would have thought the government of the republic was entirely aristocratical, that is, in the hands of the elders and sages.

The Power of the PEOPLE.

The power of the people, however, was very considerable. They were sole masters and arbiters of rewards and punishments, which is the most essential part of government. They often fixed pecuniary mulcts upon such as had been possessed of the highest employments, and had alone the right of condemning the Roman citizens capitally. And in this last case there was a very laudable custom at Rome, according to Polybius, and worthy our observation which was, to leave a person who was accused of a capital crime the power of preventing judgment and retiring into some neighbouring city, where he past the rest of his life in peace and liberty, in a vo-

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luntary baniſhment. It was the people, who by their ſuffrages conferred all offices and honours, which in a republic are the moſt glorious rewards of probity and merit. They had alone the right of inſtituting and abrogating laws; and what is ſtill more conſiderable, it was the people who deliberated of peace and war, who decided alliances, treaties of peace, and conventions with foreign people and princes. Who would not have thought ſuch a government abſolutely popular and democratical?

The mutual Dependence of the Conſul, Senate, and People upon each other.

It is this mutual dependence of the different parts of a republic, wherein the ſecurity, ſtrength and beauty of it conſiſts. From this reciprocal want they have of one another, ariſes a kind of harmony between the different members, and an unanimous concurrence, which holding them all ſtrictly united amongſt themſelves, by the bond of common intereſt, renders the body of the ſtate invulnerable, and not to be conquered by any foreign power.

We have already obſerved, that the power of the conſul, in time of war, was almoſt ſovereign, and yet he abſolutely depended in ſeveral particulars both upon the ſenate and people. For on one ſide it was only by order from the ſenate that he could receive the ſums that were neceſſary for the proviſions, cloaths and pay of the ſoldiers: And the denial, or delay of theſe ſuccours, diſabled the general from forming any attempt, or purſuing his deſigns as far as he could wiſh. The ſame ſenate, at the end of the year, could appoint a ſucceſſor to the conſul, or continue him in the command of the army, and thereby had it in their power to leave him the glory of ending the war, or to take it from him. Laſtly, it depended upon the ſenate to caſt a blemiſh upon the atchievements of the generals, or advance their glory. For it was the ſenate which decreed the honour of a tri-

umph, and appointed the expences neceſſary for that pompous ſolemnity. On the other ſide, as it belonged to the people to declare war, to confirm or diſannul the treaties made with princes and foreign nations, and to call the generals to an account for their conduct, at their return from the army, it is eaſy to ſee how attentive it was neceſſary for them to be in conciliating the favour of the people.

As to the ſenate, though their power was ſo great in other reſpects, yet, in ſeveral points, it was ſubject to that of the people. In great affairs, and ſuch eſpecially as concerned the lives of the citizens, the intervention of their authority was requiſite. When any laws were propoſed, even ſuch as tended to diminiſh the rights, honours and prerogatives of the ſenate, and the eſtates of the ſenators, the people were the judges whether they ſhould be received or rejected. But the greateſt inſtance of their power was, that if but one of their tribunes oppoſed the reſolutions and deſigns of the ſenate, it ſufficed to put a ſtop to them, ſo that after this oppoſition the ſenate could proceed no farther.

Laſtly, the people likewiſe, in their turn, were nearly concerned to keep fair with the ſenators, both in general and in particular. The receivers of taxes tributes and cuſtoms, in a word, of all the income and revenue of the ſtate, the undertakers, who engaged to furniſh the army with proviſions, to repair the temples and other public buildings, to keep up the high roads; theſe perſons formed numerous ſocieties, which were all taken out of the people, and ſubſiſted a great number of citizens, ſome being employed in collecting the revenues, others ſerving for ſecurity to the farmers, others lending their money by way of advance, and putting it out to uſe in that manner. Now the cenſors were the perſons who adjudged theſe farms to the companies, who offered to accept them, and alſo allotted to the undertakers the ſeveral works to be done; and it was the ſenate, which either

of itself, or by commissioners of their nomination, passed judgment without appeal, concerning the disputes which might arise upon any of these matters, so far as to disannul sometimes such agreements as became impracticable, and to grant a farther time for the payment, or to lower the rate of the leases, upon account of some ill accident intervening. And what was still more capable of inspiring the people with modesty and respect for the decrees of the senate, [p] the judges of the greatest part of the public and private affairs of any consequence, were taken out of their body. The citizens were likewise obliged to keep fair with the consuls, upon whom they all depended, especially in time of war, and when they served under them in the army.

It was this mutual relation and agreement of all the orders of the republic, which rendered the government of Rome the most accomplished that ever was in the world.

When we read, in the infancy of the republic, and the times immediately following it, of the almost continual seditions which so long divided the senate and people, and that kind of intestine war between the tribunes and consuls, we justly stand astonished, how a state, agitated by such frequent and violent convulsions, should not only be able to subsist, but to conquer, even at that very time, all the neighbouring people, and presently after to extend their victories into countries far more remote. Polybius gives a solid reason for it, which reflects a considerable honour upon the Roman people; and this is, that when the republic was attacked by an enemy from without, the fear of the common danger, and the motive of the public good, suspended their private quarrels, and entirely reunited them. The love of their country was then, in a manner, the soul which put all the parts and members of the state into motion, every one striving to discharge their

[p] The form of judgment was changed in after times.

their duty in their ſeveral functions, either by forming reſolutions with deliberation and wiſdom, or by putting them in execution, with promptitude and alacrity; and it was this good underſtanding and unanimity, which conſtantly rendered the republic invincible, and gave ſucceſs to all their undertakings.

It was this very conſtitution of the Roman government which maintained and ſubſiſted the republic for ſome time, even after the citizens, delivered from the fear of a foreign enemy, grown haughty and inſolent by their victories, emaſculated by riches and pleaſures, and corrupted by praiſe and flattery, began to abuſe their power, and commit violence and wrong in a thouſand inſtances. For in this condition, the authority of the ſenate, and that of the people, being always counterbalanced by each other, when one of the two parties at any time endeavoured to extend its power, the other preſently joined all its forces to pull it down, and keep it in order; and thus, by this mutual equality, this balancing power and authority, the republic always maintained itſelf in its liberty and independency.

Cauſes of the Change of a Republic into a Monarchy

It is with a ſtate and a republic, ſays Polybius, as with the human body, which has its progreſs and increaſe, its time of ſtrength and maturity, its declenſion and end; and uſually, when a ſtate is arrived at the height of grandeur and power, it afterwards degenerates by more or leſs ſenſible declenſions, and falls at laſt to ruin.

Thus, ſays Polybius, whilſt the government of Carthage, like that of Sparta and Rome, was made up of the [q] three ſorts of power we have been ſpeaking of, it was very potent and flouriſhing. But in the beginning of the ſecond Punic war, and in the

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[q] Kings, formerly named *Suffetae*, the ſenate and the people.

time of Hannibal, it might be said, in some measure, to be upon the decline. Its youth, flower, and vigour, were already faded; it had begun to fall from its former height, and tend towards its ruin. Whereas Rome was then, as I may say, in full strength and vigour, and making large advances towards the conquest of the world. The reason which Polybius gives of the fall of the one, and the increase of the other's power, is drawn from the principles he had laid down concerning the successive revolutions of states. Amongst the Carthaginians, the people had at that time the principal authority in all public affairs; on the other hand, at Rome, the senate, that is, the company made up of men so much famed for wisdom, had then more credit than ever. From whence he concludes, that a people, guided by the prudence of old men, must necessarily have the advantage over a state governed, or rather hurried on by the rash counsels of the multitude. Rome accordingly, which, properly speaking, began then to extend its power, and make trial of its strength against foreigners, governed by the wise counsels of the senate, was at last superior in the total result of the war, though in particular it had the disadvantage in several engagements, and established its power and greatness upon the ruins of its rival.

But all things under the sun have their decrease and end, and the wisest and best constituted republics as well as all the rest. Now the fall of states must arise either from internal causes, and such as subsist in the state itself, or from causes that are foreign and external. It is not easy for human wisdom, however penetrating, to foresee the latter, as they depend upon numberless uncertain and obscure events; whereas the former have, if I may be allowed to say so, a fixt order and almost certain progress.

To pass a right judgment upon the cause of changes in states, we need only attend to the manner in which these states are usually formed and established, and

and we ſhall then be ſurpriſed to ſee by what unforeſeen and unexpected revolutions, things return almoſt always to the firſt point from whence they ſet out.

[r] It is natural, when a multitude of men are found together in the ſame country, without laws, government, or any ſubordination, and by a neceſſary conſequence expoſed to a great deal of wrong and violence, that the ſtrongeſt among them, as always happens among animals, ſhould become their head. This man, employing afterwards his power and authority to protect and ſuccour the reſt, to defend them againſt violence and injuſtice, to procure them reſt and tranquillity, to favour conſtantly ſuch as are judged to be men of the greateſt probity, and to be exact in treating every one of his ſubjects according to their merit; they then, with one conſent, confirm the authority he had at firſt uſurped, and of violent had made juſt and reaſonable. They then ſwear to pay him an entire obedience, and a perfect ſubmiſſion, which is ſo much the more firm and ſure, as it is founded upon the intereſt of thoſe who engaged to ſubmit to it. [s] Such is uſually the origin of monarchy, and ſuch the ſteps by which it is converted into regal ſway, which in the governing of willing ſubjects chuſes rather to employ the wiſdom of councils, than terror and force which motives conduced moſt in making Romulus a king.

In after times, the ſucceſſors of this authority, at firſt ſo mild and beneficial, obſerving their power to be thoroughly eſtabliſhed, and plentifully enjoying all kind of happineſs and honours, begin to abuſe their power, commit numberleſs wrongs, exerciſe abundance of cruelty, and become the object of the people's hatred. It is eaſy to diſcern in this deſcription

[r] We ſee in Herodotus, that the kingdom of the Medes was thus eſtabliſhed in the perſon of Dejoces.

[s] Μόνην τὴν ἐξ ἑκόντων συγχωρουμένην, καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τὸ πλεῖον ἢ φόβῳ καὶ βίᾳ κυβερναμένην.

description, the character of Tarquinius Superbus, the last king of the Romans.

The royal authority being thus changed into tyranny, conspiracies are formed against the tyrants and persons of the greatest distinction, greatness of mind, valour and fortitude place themselves at the head of the conspirators, men of that character bearing the unjust treatment of their masters with the greatest impatience. The people then seeing that they owe their quiet and liberty to their courage, willingly submit to their government, and chearfully intrust the supreme authority in their hands; as it actually happened when the Tarquins were expelled Rome. And thus an aristocracy is formed, or a government by wise men and elders, such as those grave old men were, of whom the senate was composed.

This sort of government may have a longer duration and stability, but at last it degenerates in its turn like the rest, and instead of those prudent experienced and disinterested old men, who had no other view but the good of their country, a small number of men, distinguished from the rest only by ambition, pride, and avarice, industriously engross authority to themselves, which paves the way to an oligarchy; of which we have seen some first essays and images in the violent conduct of the decemvirs, and in the cruel avarice of the wealthiest senators, which forced the people more than once to stand upon their defence against their vexations, by those famous retreats upon the Sacred and Aventine hills, and this is what is called an oligarchy.

When a republic is in this condition, and the citizens are alike disgusted and tired with all the preceding forms of government, it is natural that they should turn their views and desires towards a democracy, by striving to increase the power of the people in general, and to equal their rights and privileges with those of the nobility. So long as the fear and remembrance of past ills remain, good

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order subsists for some time, and an equality is kept up amongst the citizens. But those who come after, and are little affected with the advantages of the old liberty and popular equality, which are now grown stale through use, seek to raise themselves above others, and such are generally the most wealthy. As the legitimate admission to honours, arising from virtue and merit, is often denied them, they employ their great wealth in buying the votes of the people, and use their utmost endeavours to corrupt them by bribes and donations. When once these ambitious men, abandoned to their lust of power, have obtained their ends of the multitude by the temptation of gain, there are no longer any excesses of which they are not capable. The commonwealth falls in this manner into the greatest of misfortunes, which is when the populace becomes supreme dispensers of all things; and this is called ochlocracy.

Polybius observes, that this change of manners which draws after it an alteration of government, is the usual consequence of the good success and long prosperity of a state. When a republic, says he having past through great dangers, becomes victorious after long and heavy wars, and arrived at the height of glory and power, has no more enemies to dispute empire with it, but has subjected all to itself; such a prosperity, if it is long and lasting, never fails to introduce luxury and ambition into the republic, which infallibly produce the ruin of the most flourishing states. Luxury to furnish the expences, which daily become greater and more enormous, soon degenerates into avarice, and is forced to have recourse to injustice and rapine; and ambition to compass its ends, omits nothing that may gain the favour of the people, flattery, complaisance, bribery and corruption. Hence it follows that the multitude on one side, provoked by the unjust exactions of the rich, and on the other, corrupted and grown insolent by the flatteries and bribes of the ambitious, consult only their own pas-

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sions and caprice in public debates, refuse to give ear to their first magistrates, and to submit to their authority; and assuming the specious name of liberty and democracy, give themselves up to an unlimited licentiousness, and intirely shake off the yoke of the laws. Accustomed to live upon the substance of others, and fatten in ease and idleness, if they find a head, who is not in a condition to supply all their wants of himself, but being bold and enterprizing, seems capable of gratifying their desires by other expedients, they adhere to him, and support and advance him. Hence arise seditions, murders, banishments, proscriptions, new divisions of lands, and disannulling of debts; till at last somebody more powerful and mighty than any of the rest starts up, who assumes the whole authority to himself, and becomes sole master of the government. Thus the too eager desire of liberty, or, to speak more properly, the abuse the people make of it, ends in the loss of that very liberty, and the establishment of a new sovereign and arbitrary government.

Such were in short the revolutions, which changed the face and nature of the Roman republic, as it now remains for us to shew.

CHAP. II.

The Change of the ROMAN *Republic into a Monarchy.*

WHAT Polybius had foreseen, came to pass, in the manner, and for the reasons he had observed. It was the very grandeur and prosperity of Rome which occasioned the loss of its liberty. From the time that the Roman republic was arrived at that height of glory, to which the courage and virtue of its ancient generals and magistrates had raised it, it began to decline at first by imperceptible degrees; but afterwards by such as were

more obvious, and ended at last in the open violation of the ancient maxims of the government, and the infraction of the fundamental laws of the state.

When the republic, [t] says Sallust, had raised itself by labour and justice; when mighty kings had been conquered in war, and fierce nations and numerous people subdued by force; when Carthage, the rival of Rome, was intirely conquered, and all, in a word, made subject to the Roman empire both by sea and land, there arose a surprising revolution in the whole body of the state. Those whom neither labour, nor dangers, nor so many adversities could ever conquer, were subdued by the softness of repose, and the allurements of plenty and prosperity. Avarice and ambition, the fatal springs of every evil, increased in proportion to the power of Rome. Avarice banished integrity, probity, and every other virtue from the republic, and substituted in their place pride and pomp, a contempt of religion, and a shameful commerce which exposed every thing to sale; and ambition in its turn introduced dissimulation, fraud, and treachery, and soon after violence, cruelty, and murder.

It was thus, according to the fine thought of Juvenal, that luxury, a more fatal and cruel scourge than war, ravaged the Roman empire, and revenged the conquered world.

——*Sævior armis*
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.

It remains therefore only to shew, how just th conjectures were which Polybius wisely formed concerning the change which he foresaw woul happen in the republic, to give a particular accoun of the principal causes which brought on that revo lution, as we find them either in contemporary au thor

[t] Sallust. in bello Catilin.

thors, or in such as wrote soon after that great event. By this we shall clearly see the surprising difference there was betwixt the first ages of the Roman republic and those which preceded its ruin, and have at the same time a more perfect idea of all the states through which it passed.

Riches attended with Luxury in Building, Furniture, Diet, &c.

I shall not here repeat what I have already observed in the preceding volume, concerning the noble disinterestedness of the Romans, and their esteem of poverty, simplicity, frugality, and modesty. Virtues at that time so common, and so generally practised, that they were less ascribed to the particular merit of some citizens, than to the genius of the nation, and the happy character of those early ages; but at the same time, virtues so sublime, and carried to so high a point of perfection, that in the latter ages of the republic they passed for fables and fictions; so remote were they from the taste that then prevailed, and seemed so far superior to human weakness.

[u] From the time that riches were had in honour, and became the only introduction to offices, power, and glory, virtue was no longer held in esteem. Poverty was looked upon as a reproach, and innocence of manners as the effect of a melancholy humour. And the fruit of these riches was luxury, avarice and pride.

The epocha of this change of disposition amongst the Romans, was that of the grandeur of the empire. [x] The first Scipio laid the sure foundation of their future greatness, the last, by his conquests, opened the door to luxury. From the time that Carthage,

[u] Postquam divitiæ honori esse cœperunt, et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur; hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malevolentia duci cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria, atque avaritia, cum superbia invasere. Sallust. in bello Jugurth.

[x] Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. n. 1.

thage, which kept Rome in exercise, by disputing the empire with it, was entirely destroyed, the declension of manners proceeded no longer by slow degrees, but was sudden and precipitate. Virtue immediately gave way to vice, the ancient discipline to looseness of manners, and the active laborious life to idleness and pleasure.

And whereas the ancient Romans strove rather to honour the gods by piety than magnificence, *y colebantur religiones pie magis quam magnifice*, the immense riches, which were the fruits of their later conquests, were employed in raising lofty temples to the gods, and magnificent buildings for the decoration and embellishment of Rome.

It is difficult, not to say impossible, but what is made the object of admiration, must sooner or later become the taste of private persons. Thus an historian observes, that from the time they began to use marble in the building of temples, and raised theatres and portico's, the luxury of private persons followed close at the heels of their public magnificence, *z publicamque magnificentiam secuta privata luxuria est*. The madness for building was carried to a prodigious excess, and mere private men made it their diversion, and at the same time their glory, to lavish away vast sums of money in levelling mountains, and filling up seas.

Their luxury was the same in every other particular, and it was the army that returned victorious out of Asia, which introduced it into Rome, or at least made it far more common there than it had been before. [a] Livy enumerates the several kinds of rich furniture which from that time came into use the comedians, singing women, and players upon instruments, began then also to make part of the entertainment at meals; the meals themselves no longer retained the air of the ancient simplicity, but were made at a great expence, and with a large ap-

paratus

y Liv. lib. iii. n. 57.
z Vell. Pat. lib. ii. n. 1. Sallust. in bello Catilin.
a Liv. lib. xxxix. n. 6.

paratus. A cook, who was looked upon by the ancients as a vile slave, was then held in esteem and honour, as an officer not to be dispensed with; and what before had been a low employment, became an art very much studied and esteemed. And yet all this was nothing in comparison of the excess they afterwards fell into.

[b] Cato the Censor took a deal of pains to lay before the senate the fatal consequences of the luxury, which in his time began to be introduced into the republic. Seeing the great progress of their arms in Greece and Asia, provinces abounding with the dangerous baits and allurements of every kind of pleasure, and that the Romans began to lay hands upon the treasures of kings; "I fear, [c] said he, that we "shall become the slaves of those riches, instead of "their masters, and that the conquered nations will "conquer us in their turn, by communicating their "vices to us." His apprehensions were not imaginary, and all that he had foretold came afterwards to pass.

Taste for STATUES, PICTURES, *&c.*

[d] It was the conquest of Syracuse which produced this unhappy effect; though the statues and pictures, which that great city was filled with, were spoils justly acquired by the right of war, and Marcellus was so cautious as to carry off but a small number of them, only to adorn a temple at Rome, without reserving any, either for the ornament of his own house or gardens, those works of art, which were so much valued and sought after, became fatal to the empire, by inspiring the Romans with an admiration and taste of those vain ornaments.

[b] Liv. lib. xxxiv. n. 4.

[c] Haec ego, quo melior laetiorque in dies fortuna Reipublicae est, imperium quoque crescit; et jam in Graeciam Asiamque transcendimus, omnibus nisi bonum illecebris repletas et regias etiam attractamus gazas. Vereor ne hae nos magis quam nos illas. Liv. lib. xxxiv. n. 4.

[d] Hoc jam quidem illa spolia, et parta belli jure: caeterum inde primum mira visa deorum artium opera, licentiaeque hinc sacra profanaque omnia vulgo spoliandi, factum est. Liv. lib. xxv. n. 40.

[d] Fabius, by his generous contempt of them, after the conqueſt of Tarentum, ſhewed more prudence than Marcellus had done at Syracuſe. For when an officer aſked Fabius, what he would have done with a great number of ſtatues which were found in the city, and were ſo many gods of a large ſtature, repreſented as fighting with each other, in a particular attitude, "*Let us leave the Tarentines*, ſays Fa-"bius, *their angry gods.*

The ſecond Scipio, in the conqueſt of Carthage, behaved in a manner ſtill more worthy the old Roman greatneſs. [e] After he had ſeverely prohibited his men from ſeizing, or even buying any thing of the ſpoils, he ordered the inhabitants of Sicily to come and claim the ſtatues, which the Carthaginians had formerly taken from them; [f] and reſtoring to the Agrigentines the famous bull of Phalaris, he told them, that this monument of the cruelty of their ancient kings, and the mildneſs of their preſent maſters ſhould inform them which was the greateſt advantage, to be under the yoke of the Sicilians, or under the government of the Roman People. Not, ſays Cicero, that this great man, who had a mind ſo well improved, wanted either places for theſe curious works of art, or judgment to diſcern all their beauties. But ſurpaſſing not only in diſintereſtedneſs, but in delicacy of taſte, all our moſt refined connoiſſeurs, he judged that theſe works were wrought not to ſatisfy the vain curioſity, much leſs the luxury of mankind, but to ſerve as ornaments in temples and cities. And as an [g] hiſtorian judiciouſly obſerves it were much to be wiſhed, for the benefit and honour of the republic, that they had ever retained the noble contempt of Scipio, or even the ignorance and groſs taſte of Mummius. This laſt, in tranſporting the moſt valuable part of the ſpoils of Corinth to Rome, was ſo little acquainted with the valu

[d] Liv. lib. xxvii. n. 16.
[e] Cic. Ver. iv. n. 86.
[f] Ver. vi. n. 73.
[g] Ver. iv. n. 87. & Ver. vi. n. 98.
[h] Vell. Paterc. lib. i. n. 13.

value and excellence of performances of this sort, that he told the undertakers who were employed to bring them over, that if any of them were lost, they should be obliged to make them good at their own expence. The republic would have been happy, if this pretended good taste had never been introduced among them, as it opened a door to such rapine and violence, as highly dishonoured the Roman people among strangers.

What Cicero relates of the horrible excesses into which this passion of collecting valuable vessels and pictures led Verres, during the time of his prætorship in Sicily, is scarce credible. The generality of the other governors were not far behind hand with him in this kind of robbery. But how great a difference was there between such magistrates and the ancient Romans, who thought it a duty and an honour to leave this kind of ornaments to their allies, and even to the people tributary to them, that the one might be sensible of the mildness of the Roman government, and the other have some consolation under their slavery?

Insatiable Avarice, injustice, rapine, ill-treatment of the Allies and conquered nations.

[k] 'Tis a very just reflection in Tully, that the oracle of Apollo, which declared that Sparta should never be ruined but by avarice, gave a prediction which concerned all other wealthy nations, besides the Lacedemonians. This oracle was verified in the case of the Roman republic more than in any other state. All the historians who speak of its ruin, agree that avarice was the cause of it, and that this avarice arose from riches and luxury. In short, from the moment that any one grows passionately fond of magnificence, grand equipages, fine furniture, plenty and

[i] Ver. vi. n. 114.
[k] lib. de Offic. n. 77.
[l] Delectant magnifici apparatus, vitæque cultus cum elegantia & copia; quibus rebus effectum est, ut infinita pecuniæ cupiditas esset. De Offic. lib. i. n. 25.

and elegance in eating and drinking, 'tis a natural and neceſſary conſequence, that he will ſet no bounds to his love of money, which buys all theſe things, and without which they cannot be procured.

Salluſt owns, [m] after a great many reflections upon the cauſes of the grandeur and power of the ancient Romans, who often defeated numerous armies with a ſmall body of troops, and with a very moderate revenue ſupported long wars againſt very wealthy kings, without loſing courage in the leaſt from any adverſity; Salluſt, I ſay, owns that Rome was indebted for this grandeur and power to a ſmall number only of illuſtrious citizens, whoſe excellent merit and ſolid virtue had rendered poverty victorious over riches, and a ſmall body of ſoldiers ſuperior to innumerable armies. But, adds he, from the time the citizens have ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted by luxury and idleneſs, Rome, like a woman paſt child bearing, has ceaſed to produce great men; and though it has ſtill ſubſiſted ſome time after, it has been only in conſequence, and by means of its ancient grandeur, which continued to ſupport the republic, notwithſtanding the weakneſs and vices of its governors.

It is worth while to compare thoſe happy times of the republic when poverty was generally had in honour, with the later ages, when pomp, luxury and magnificence reigned, in conjunction with a mean and ſordid avarice. What great men were those conſuls and dictators who were taken from the plough! What noble ſentiments, what magnanimity in the two Scipios, in Fabius. and in Paulus Æmilius? Did theſe ancient Romans ſet any value upon money? When Pyrrhus endeavoured to corrupt the ſenate by preſents, was there one ſingle perſon in the city tempted to receive them? The caſe was much altered in the time of Jugurtha, who found means to gain the votes of almoſt all the ſenators by the influence of his bribes; [o] ſo that when he was

[m] Salluſt. in bello Catilin.
[n] Liv. lib. xxxiv. n. 4.
[o] Salluſt. in bello Jugurth.

forced to leave Rome, turning his eyes back upon it from time to time, he called it a city ready to be sold to the highest bidder, and which only wanted a purchaser.

So long as this noble disinterestedness lasted, those who had the command of the troops, and the government of the provinces, instead of seeking to enrich themselves with the spoils of the allies or conquered people, looked upon themselves as their fathers and guardians. [p] 'Twas then the principle of the Roman people to conquer less by force of arms than benefits, and to prefer the gaining of friends before the making of slaves. Neither the marches of their troops, nor the encampment of their armies, nor their winter quarters, nor the residence of the generals in any city, were any expence to the inhabitants. It was this conduct that acquired the Roman empire so much honour and esteem. The senate then, says Tully, was the refuge and asylum of Kings, people, and nations. Our magistrates and generals then placed their chief glory in defending the provinces, and supporting their allies with inviolable justice and fidelity. [q] Thus we were the protectors rather than masters of the world.

Let us hear the same Tully, and he will tell us how much things were altered in his time. [r] All the provinces, says he, groan, all free people are in desolation, all kingdoms loudly complain of the violences and vexations they suffer from us. In the large extent of countries, which are terminated by the ocean, there is now no place so remote, whither the avarice and injustice of our generals and magistrates have not penetrated. It is now no longer possible to sustain, I say, not the power, the arms, the invasion of nations, but their cries, their complaints, and their reproaches. It is difficult, [s] says he,

in

[p] Sallust in bello Jugurth.

[q] Itaque illud Patrocinium orbis terrae verius, quam imperium poterat nominari. De Off. lib. ii. n. 27.

[r] Verr. iv. n. 207. [s] Pro lege Manil. n. 65.

in another place, to tell you how odious the unjust and violent conduct of the governors, whom we send into our provinces, have made us to all foreign nations. There is no temple which they have held sacred, no city which they have respected, no private house has been barred or inaccessible to their avarice. This was the state of the republic in late times; and if we enquire into the first cause and origin of all these disorders, we shall find what I cannot repeat too often, that they were the insatiable love of riches and luxury.

Immoderate Ambition, a boundless Desire of Rule, attended with Factions, Seditions, Murders, and the entire Subversion of Liberty.

[t] Tully, after Plato, lays down two essential rules to be observed by persons employed in governmen The first is, to have no other view than the publi good, without the least regard to their own privat interest; the second, to extend their cares equall to the whole body of the state, without favourin one part more than another. For, adds he, a go vernor is a kind of guardian, and under that ch racter must consider the interest of the person co mitted to his care, and not his own. And he wh should take care of one part of the citizens onl and neglect the rest, would introduce discord a sedition, than which nothing can be more perni ous to states.

These may properly be said to be the fundame tal laws of every wise and well ordered governme and it was the exact observation of these rules, t formed the character of the good citizens and gr men of the republic, as it was upon this plan, a these principles, the republic was first formed a established. [u] When the authority of annual m gistrates was substituted in the place of regal pow which was become unsupportable, the senate was c sidered as the perpetual and public council of the st

[t] Offic. lib. i. n. 85. [u] Cic. orat. pro Sext. n. 1

to be in a manner the soul and head of the republic, the guardian and defender of the laws, the protector of the liberty and privileges of the people; and all the citizens were admitted into this illustrious body, without any other distinction than that of virtue and merit. The magistrates gloried in respecting the authority of the senate, and were looked upon as the ministers of that august council, and the different orders of the state contributed their peculiar lustre to exalt the glory of the highest and most noble assembly. It was this concert and union in promoting the public good, which so long preserved a good understanding in the republic, which gave success to all the wars they undertook, and spread the glory and terror of the Roman name throughout the world. An opposite conduct produced the quite contrary effect.

[u] Before the destruction of Carthage, the disputes among the citizens for power and authority were not carried to any excess of violence. The fear of foreign powers was a restraint which kept them within the bounds of moderation, and inspired a respect for the laws. [x] Till then, the Romans had not ventured to shed the blood of their citizens, and the highest excess of their civil dissensions was carried no farther than to quit the city, and retire to the top of some neighbouring mountain. When Rome saw herself delivered from all apprehensions of foreign enemies, licentiousness and pride, the usual consequences of prosperity, soon disturbed the union and concord which had till then prevailed. The nobility and people, the one under a pretext of supporting their dignity, and the other their liberty, sought each of them separately to enlarge their authority, and enclose all power to themselves. [y] And most part of those,

[u] Sallust. in bello Jugurth.

[x] Nondum erant tam fortes ad sanguinem civilem, nec praeter externa noverant bella, ultimaque rabies secessio ab suis habebatur. Liv. lib. vii. n. 40.

[y] Per illa tempora, quicunque rempublicam agitavere, honestis omnibus, alii sicuti jura populi defenderent, pars quo senatus auctoritas maxima foret, bonum publicum simulantes, pro sua quisque potentia certabant. Sallust. in bello Cat.

thoſe, who ſet themſelves at the head of the two parties, under the ſpecious title of defenders of the public good, laboured in reality at nothing more than the eſtabliſhment of their own private power; and amidſt theſe two factions, the republic, torn by their diviſions, and given up as a prey to the ambition of her citizens, was always in a ſtate of ſubjection to the moſt powerful. [z] It muſt not be aſked, which of the heads of theſe parties had moſt right and juſtice on their ſide; all were alike unjuſt, and all uſurpers of a power, which did not belong to them. He who was the ſtrongeſt, and remained the conqueror, was always ſure to be applauded.

[a] We learn from hence, that nothing is more capable of extinguiſhing juſtice and the laws, than the paſſion for dominion and power over others; a paſſion the more dangerous, as it is covered over with the appearance of virtue and glory, and, for that reaſon, generally draws in ſuch as ſuppoſe themſelves diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of mankind by more noble ſentiments, and a ſuperior greatneſs of mind.

We ſhall now ſee theſe fatal diſpoſitions diſcloſe themſelves by little and little, increaſe as it were by degrees with time, and at laſt end in the entire ſubverſion of liberty.

The GRACCHI.

Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, deſcended by the mother from the famous Scipio Africanus, ſupported the honour of their birth by an extraordinary merit. They had each of them great capacity, a noble ſoul, joined to a diſpoſition intirely diſintereſted

[z] Boni et mali cives appellati non ob merita in rempublicam, omnibus pariter corruptis; ſed uti quiſque locupletiſſimus, et injuſtus validior, quia praeſentia defendebat, pro bono ducebatur. Sallust. in frag.

[a] Maxime adducuntur plerique, ut eos juſtitiae capiat oblivio, cum in imperiorum, honorum, gloriae cupiditatem inciderunt. . . . . autem in hoc genere moleſtum, quod in maximis animis ſplendidiſque ingeniis plerumque exiſtunt honoris, imperii, potentiae, gloriae cupiditates. Offic. lib. i. n. 26.

ed, with an irresistible force of eloquence, to which were added a lively and ardent zeal for justice, a natural compassion for the miserable, and an irreconcilable hatred against all oppression, which opposition improved into a personal animosity against the oppressors. It cannot be denied, but that these two illustrious brothers had very upright intentions, and that they had no other end in what they undertook, but an apparently necessary reformation; and that, in short, they provided a remedy for several disorders by wise regulations. But engagements formed at first with good views, and afterwards carried on with too much warmth, led them farther than they designed. They pursued what they had begun through a virtuous disposition, with an inflexible obstinacy; and by this means, their great qualities, which might have been very useful to the state, had they been conducted with discretion and moderation, became fatal and pernicious to it.

The principal subject of the discord that arose upon their account, was the law they proposed concerning the distribution of lands, which, for that reason, was called the Agrarian law. When the Romans had got possession of the lands of their neighbours by conquest, it was customary with them to sell one part of them, to add the rest to the domain of their republic, and to give these last to the poorest of the citizens, to make the best they could of them, upon condition that they paid into the public treasury a small acknowledgment of rent every year. The rich having begun to encroach upon them, to advance their rents, and by that means to drive the poor out of their possessions, a law was made, requiring that no citizen should possess above five hundred acres of land. This law laid a restraint upon the avarice of the rich for some time, but they afterwards found means to evade it, by causing the farm of those lands to be adjudged to themselves, under borrowed names; and at last, holding them openly themselves, the poor were reduced to ex-

treme miſery, and Italy in danger of being overſtocked with the ſlaves and Barbarians, whom the rich made uſe of to cultivate the lands of which they had diſpoſſeſſed the citizens.

This practice was moſt ſhamefully ſcandalous, and the law propoſed by the Gracchi ſeemed extremely reaſonable. They were at firſt content to ordain, that the rich ſhould quit the lands they had uſurped, upon receiving from the public the price of the poſſeſſions they ſo unjuſtly held, and that the citizens who ſtood in need of them, ſhould enter upon them in their ſtead. "Why, [b] ſaid they to the "people, the wild beaſts find holes and dens to "creep into in the mountains and foreſts of Italy "and ſhall thoſe brave Romans, who are expoſed "to fight and die for the defence of Italy, enjoy no "more than the light and air, which cannot be ta"ken from them, and be obliged to wander in the "fields with their wives and children, without hou"or home? They only fight and die to increaſe the "revenue and ſupport the luxury of the rich, and "theſe pretended maſters of the world (for ſo they "are called) have not one ſingle inch of ground "which is properly their own."

There are ſometimes diſorders in a ſtate which cannot be remedied without ruining the ſtate itſelf. As in ſome diſeaſes of the human body, the cure cannot be attempted without an almoſt certain danger of death. The men of the greateſt probity in Rome, and ſuch ſenators as were moſt inclined to promote the public good, ſaw plainly how fatal the conſequences would be of the laws propoſed by the Gracchi; and their misfortune was, as [c] Tully obſerves, that they did not agree in opinion and conduct with that moſt ſound and wiſe part of the public. [d] It coſt both of them their lives; and the tragical end ſeemed to erect the ſtandard of blood, diſſenſions, and give the citizens the ſignal of riſ

[b] Plut. in vit. Gracch.
[c] Cic. orat. de Haruſp. reſp. n. 41.
[d] Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. n.

in arms againſt each other, to ſatisfy the ambition of particular men. From that time the laws gave way to violence; the moſt powerful lorded it over the reſt; the civil diſſenſions, which till then had ended in pacific treaties, came to be decided only by force of arms; and as ill examples continually increaſe, the citizens blood was ſoon after ſeen to flow in large ſtreams through the ſtreets of Rome, and Roman armies to march with their enſigns diſplayed againſt each other.

II. Marius *and* Sylla.

Marius and Sylla, both born with excellent talents, are an inſtance of the exceſs of rage and cruelty, to which ambition may riſe, when it is not retained within juſt bounds by ſentiments of honour and probity, and a love for the public good. They ſeem to have had all the other qualities neceſſary to form great men.

[e] Defect of birth in Marius was hid by the moſt eminent virtues. Inured from his infancy to a ſevere life, and afterwards brought up, not in ſtudying of Greek, nor after the delicate manner then practiſed at Rome, but in the laborious exerciſes of the camp, he preſently became a maſter in the art of war, and carried his ſkill in it to as great an height of perfection as any officer had ever done. Capable of the greateſt enterprizes in the field, moderate in his particular conduct, and far removed from pleaſure and avarice, he had no other paſſion than that of glory. He behaved himſelf in ſuch manner in all the offices wherein he was employed, that he ſeemed always deſerving of greater. And the reſt of his life was anſwerable to this beginning. The ſeveral conſulſhips which were ſucceſſively conferred upon him, the war with Jugurtha happily terminated, the overthrow of the innumerable armies of Barbarians which ravaged Italy in two battles, wherein above three hundred thouſand were

[e] Salluſt. in bello Jugurth.

killed or taken, are circumstances which shew the abilities of Marius.

[f] Sylla, though of a very different character, was inferior to him in no respect. He was of a patrician family, and perfectly instructed in polite literature. He had a lofty soul, loved pleasures, but was fonder of glory. His leisure moments he spent in diversions, but never delayed the dispatch of business upon their account. He was eloquent, of refined wit, and an obliging friend, of profound secrecy and dissimulation, liberal, or rather prodigal. Though before the civil wars he might have been considered as the most fortunate man in Rome, yet his merit never appeared below his fortune, and it could not easily be decided whether he was more happy or more brave. What proofs of courage, boldness, prudence and ability did he not give in all the wars wherein he commanded, and especially in the war with Mithridates, the most formidable enemy of the Romans?

Thus, they were certainly great men, and very deserving our esteem, if we judge of greatness and glory by honours, talents, or great exploits. But here we must call to mind the truth, which I have advanced in the preceding volume, that man is to be judged of by the heart, and the want of integrity and probity can never be atoned for by the most shining qualities.

What a shameful figure did a violent desire of obtaining the consulship make Marius at first act? because Metellus, under whom he served as lieutenant, seemed to disapprove of his design, he, in the warmth of his rage against him, and consulting only his own resentment and ambition, first privately took pains to discredit him among the soldiery, and presently after becoming the declared enemy and calumniator of his general, supplanted him by unworthy methods and got himself appointed his successor, to terminate the war against Jugurtha. The whole glory of it however, did not fall to his share. His quæstor Sylla into whose hand Jugurtha was delivered, carried off a great part of it from him; and, proud of an even tha

[f] Sallust. in bello Jugurth.

that was so glorious to him, caused the picture of it to be engraven on a ring, and ever after made use of it as a seal; which gave Marius an irreconcilable aversion for him, and was the first source of their divisions.

[g] Paterculus wonderfully describes the character of Marius in a few words. He was a man, says he, eager after glory, and insatiable in the pursuit of it, violent in his desires, and devoured by a restless ambition. *Immodicus gloriæ, insatiabilis, impotens, semperque inquietus.* When he was candidate for a sixth consulship, there was no degree of meanness he did not submit to, that he might gain the favour of the people, nor any unworthy or criminal method he did not make use of, so far as to join with two of the most [h] infamous wretches in the city, in order to prevent the election of [i] Metellus, who was one of his competitors, and a man of the greatest probity in the republic, and proceeded so far as to procure his banishment by falshood and perjury, [k] which, according to him, were part of the merit and ability of a great man.

How great must be the torments of an ambitious mind? So many honours heaped upon Marius, six consulships [l] successively conferred upon him, of which there never was a precedent, immense riches acquired in a very short time, victories without number and over enemies of every kind; several triumphs, and every one more glorious than the other, all this accumulation of grandeur and prosperity made but a light impression upon the heart of this ambitious man; whilst the rising glory of Sylla, which was perpetually upon the increase, raged within him, distracted, and tormented him like a madman.

[m] His jealousy was awakened upon the election of general to be sent against Mithridates. He could

[g] Lib. ii. n. 11. [h] Glaucia et Saturninus.

[i] The same person, who has been already mentioned.

[k] Αὐτὸς εἰς ἀρετὴν καὶ δεινότητος μερίδα τὸ ψεύσασθαι τιθέμενος, Plut. in vit. Mar.

[l] There were only two years between the first and second.

[m] Plut. in vit. Mar.

not bear that this command ſhould be given to his rival. Though worn out with fatigues, feeble with age, and grown very unweildy, he endeavoured to ſhew himſelf in the field of Mars, among the young men who exerciſed themſelves there in riding and fencing. A ſpectacle which moved pity in all worthy and ſenſible men. They could not imagine that at his years, after ſo many triumphs, and having acquired ſo much glory, he could think of marching into Cappadocia, and to the extremity of the Euxine ſea, to exhauſt the remains of his old age in fighting againſt the nobles of Mithridates. Yet he was nominated by the people to command in the war, and Sylla obliged to fly to ſave his life.

But Sylla within a ſmall time returned to Rome at the head of a numerous army, and Marius, after a weak reſiſtance, was in his turn obliged to fly. A price was ſet upon his head, and the tribune Sulpitius was ſtrangled. Sylla, without tarrying any longer at Rome, marched directly againſt Mithridates as fully aſſured that the victories he ſhould gain over ſo formidable an enemy, would contribute more than any thing to ſtrengthen his authority.

The abſence of Sylla gave Marius an opportunity of returning. He had run through ſtrange adventures, being obliged to fly trembling from city to city, to hide himſelf ſometimes in foreſts and ſometimes in a morafs. His entrance into Rome was followed by the murder of an infinite number of citizens, and the moſt conſiderable perſons in the city that adhered to the party of Sylla.

In the mean time a report was ſpread, that Sylla had put an end to the war with Mithridates, and was returning to Rome with a vaſt army. Marius who had procured himſelf to be choſen conſul for the ſeventh time, was ſo alarmed at the news, that he could never ſleep, and contracted a diſtemper, of which he died ſoon after. It is ſaid, that in the delirium, which never left him, he would think and act as if he were fighting againſt Mithridates

[n] So deeply had his desire of commanding, and his natural jealousy, imprinted in his heart a strong and violent passion for the conduct of that war.

The cruelty of Marius seemed a trifle, in comparison of what was afterwards exercised by Sylla. He filled Rome with continual and endless murders, and set no value upon the lives of the citizens. He proscribed at different times an immense number, and forbade all people, upon pain of death, to receive or shelter any that were proscribed, without excepting the person that should save a brother, a son, or a father; and even proposed a reward for the homicide, either in the case of a slave that should kill his master, or a son that should cut the throat of his own father. The death of the proscribed was followed by the confiscation of their goods. [o] Thus avarice gave occasion to cruelty: Riches were guilt, and every one appeared criminal in proportion to the wealth he possessed, which at once became the danger of the rich, and the recompence of the murderer. Sylla nominated and declared himself dictator, a title which had not been known at Rome for an hundred and twenty years before. He passed an act of general oblivion for all that was past, and caused himself to be invested with full power for the future, of putting to death what citizens he pleased; of confiscating estates, distributing lands, destroying cities, building others, taking away kingdoms, and conferring them on whomsoever he pleased.

But what is scarce to be comprehended, after he had put to death so many thousands, introduced into the republic such strange changes and unheard-of innovations, he ventured to resign the dictatorship,

to

[n] Οὕτω δεινὸς αὐτῷ ἡ δυσπαραμύθητος ἐκ φιλαρχίας ἡ ζηλοτυπίας ἔρως ἐνέπλεκε τὸν πρὰξεων ἐκείνων. Plut. in vit. Mar.

[o] Id quoque accessit ut sævitiæ causam avaritia præberet, et modus culpæ ex pecuniæ modo constitueretur, et qui fuisset locuples fieret nocens, suique quisque periculi merces foret. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. n. 22.

to live as a private man, and ended his days in his bed, without there being one man found, among so many citizens, whose fathers, brothers and children he had put to death, that made any attempt upon his life: divine justice reserved the punishment of him to itself. He was struck with an horrible disease, and made the prey of a shameful and cruel vermin, which continually encreasing in his corrupted flesh, and admitting of no remedy, infected the whole house with an insupportable stench, and at last brought him to a miserable end.

We learn from Marius and Sylla, how very fatal the consequences of a misguided ambition may prove. It is less to be wondered, that Marius, who had always something rough, austere, and savage in his disposition, p *hirtus atque horridus*, unimproved by study or education, and in a manner uncivilized should carry his revenge and cruelty the lengths he did. But such excesses are almost incredible in a man of q Sylla's character, who had always appeared mild, humane, tender, and compassionate, even so as to weep at the misfortunes of others; one that from his youth had been addicted to gaety and pleasures, and who managed his fortune at first with so much wisdom and moderation. Could this, say Plutarch, be a change of temper and manners arising from high honours and great prosperity? Or was it the bare irruption of a secret depravity concealed in his heart, which his absolute power gave him an opportunity of displaying? Be that as it will, we must conclude, that ambition, when a rival is to be removed, is capable of the blackest crimes and the most inhuman cruelties.

That of Sylla produced very fatal effects for several ages after. Possessed with a boundless passion for power, he was the first, who to gain the affection of the troops, corrupted them by a servile complaisance and excessive bribes. He taught them th

p Paterc. q Plut. in Syl.

that it was in their power to give lords to the empire, and it was from this first example that the legions began to consider themselves as having an absolute right, exclusive even of the senate, to dispose of the empire, to advance and depose emperors at their pleasure, without paying any regard to the merit of the best and greatest princes.

III. Cæsar, Pompey.

We have here two other ambitious men, of a character very different from the former; as their ambition, covered and supported by the most glorious qualities, seems less worthy of blame, and was yet no less pernicious to the republic.

These two great men had no superiors in antiquity, if we consider only their military virtues, their enterprizes and victories, which filled the universe with the glory of their name.

[r] Cæsar, in less than ten years, when he commanded in Gaul, took above eight hundred cities by force; subdued three hundred nations, fought at several times in pitch'd battles against three millions of enemies, a million of which he cut in pieces, and took another million prisoners. For which reason an historian says, that in respect to the greatness of his projects, the rapidity of his conquests, his courage and intrepidity in dangers, he might be compared to Alexander the Great, but then only while Alexander was neither heated with wine nor angry. *Magnitudine cogitationum, celeritate bellandi, patientia periculorum, magno illi Alexandro, sed sobrio quoque iracundo, similimus.*

The encomiums which [t] Tully gives in a thousand places to Pompey's merit, are extremely honourable. From his youth he signalized himself by great commands and important expeditions. He had a share in more battles than those of his rank and age had

[r] Plut. in Cæsar. [t] Paterc. lib. ii. n. 41.
Pro Cornel. Balb. n. 9.---Pro leg. Manil. n. 28 & 41.

had usually read. He gained as many triumphs as the world has different parts, and as many victories as there are different sorts of wars. Success and courage had so constantly attended on him, that he might be said, in some manner, to be exalted above the condition of humanity. And lastly, all the moral virtues, probity, integrity, disinterestedness, and religion had acquired him an immense reputation amongst foreign nations, and taught them to believe that what was told of the virtue of the ancient Romans was no fable or fiction.

Take ambition from these two rivals, and substitute instead of it a real love for their country, and, I repeat it again, antiquity has never produced two greater men: But the one could not bear a superior, nor the other an equal. Pompeys, [u] says an historian, was exempt from almost every fault, if it was not one of the greatest, that being born in a city that was free and sovereign of nations, in which by right all the citizens were equal, he could not bear that any one should be equal to him in dignity and power. [x] And Cæsar, resolving to rule and lord it over the rest, at any rate, had those verses of Euripides continually in his mouth, which insinuate that if the greatest crimes were to be committed, it was when a throne was the motive.

Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi causa
Violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem colas.

[y] The triumvirate formed between Pompey, Cæsar and Crassius, with a view only to their private interests, and which occasioned their own destruction, no less than the ruin of the republic, shews what we are to think of the so much boasted probity of the great Pompey. [z] He went still farther, and to strengthen his power was not ashamed to take Cæsar for his father-in-law, adopting by that alliance al

[u] Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. n. 29.
[x] Paterc. lib. ii. n. 44.
[y] Cic. lib. v. Offic. n. 82.
[z] Cic. lib. iii. de Off. n. 82.

all his criminal views and designs, the injustice of which he better knew than any body. [z] Thus Cato, in reply to some persons, who were saying that the differences which had arose between Pompey and Cæsar had ruined the commonwealth, no, says he, *it was their union.*

Cato was not mistaken. He had foreseen all that happened afterwards. Finding the laws overthrown, the authority of the senate despised, the people corrupted by bribes, the first places in the commonwealth publicly sold for money, and even with Pompey's knowledge and consent, he did not forbear to inform the senate and people, that they were labouring to give themmselves a master, and to divest themselves of the most valuable part of their substance, which was their liberty.

It fell out as he had foretold. Discord at last broke out: the two parties took up arms; [a] the one seemed to have more justice on his side, the other more force. Here the pretence was the more specious, and there the measures the most wisely taken. Pompey relied upon the authority of the senate, and Cæsar upon the valour of his soldiers. But the step which Pompey took, of quitting Rome and Italy, took off very much from the high opinion which had before been conceived of his merit.

All the world is acquainted with the success of this civil war. After a great deal of bloodshed, and that the best blood in the republic, Cæsar remained conqueror, and assumed a sovereign power to which the diadem only was wanting, with the title of King, to gratify his ambition; and this he tried several times in vain to obtain by his emissary. It was this which hastened his death, and, by a last effort of expiring liberty, armed against him the hands of his best friends, and those upon whom he had conferred the

[z] Plut. in Pomp.

[a] Alterius ducis causa melior videbatur, alterius erat firmior. Hic omnia speciosa, illic valentia. Pompeium senatus auctoritas, Caesarem militum armavit fiducia. Paterc. lib. ii. n. 49.

the greateſt benefits. It was looked upon as the effect of Divine vengeance, that this uſurper, who had purſued Pompey to his grave, after he had made uſe of his intereſt to eſtabliſh his own tyranny, ſhould fall dead, and covered with wounds, at the foot of that Pompey's ſtatue.

IV. *The young* OCTAVIUS.

Matters were now brought to that point of diſorder and confuſion in the Roman republic, which Polybius ſpeaks of, where the only remedy for the preſent, is the ſupreme authority of a powerful man, as alone capable of reſtoring order and regularity. This man was the young Octavius, deſtined to introduce a new form of government. He was the ſon of Julius Cæſar's niece, who had adopted him and declared him his heir by will, and he was not then quite twenty years old. As ſoon as he heard of the news of his uncle's death, he made haſte to Rome, took the name of Cæſar, diſtributed all the money the deceaſed had left him among the citizens, and by that means formed a powerful party againſt Anthony, who aſpired to the government.

Tully was the perſon who contributed moſt to the advancement of the young Cæſar. I beg leave here to explain at large the part which Tully had in this great event. I have endeavoured in the ſecond volume to give ſome idea of his genius and eloquence, and it may not be improper here to take a view of him as a politician and member of the ſtate. An author who is ſeldom out of the hands of youth, ought to be known by them in every light

Tully was then very powerful in the republic; all eyes were turned upon him as the ſtrongeſt bulwark and firmeſt defender of liberty. His hatred againſt Anthony, whoſe reſentment he had cauſe to fear, very much contributed to make him incline to Octavius's party. But he was alſo more attached to him

[b] says Plutarch, through a secret motive of vanity and ambition, as hoping that the arms of this young man would secure and increase his own power and authority in the government, for the good of the republic.

This was always the weak side of Cicero, which induced him to make so mean a court to Cæsar after his victory, and which even hindered him from distrusting Pompey as he should have done, and as he was advised to do, [c] by being told that he must not always rely upon his fine speeches, and that it was easy, amidst all his fair discourse, to discover what he aimed at and desired. But Tully would be praised, flattered, considered and employed. A commendation in which there appeared some reserve, was capable, if not to make a quarrel, at least to make him behave with coldness to his best friends; as actually happened in the case of Brutus, [d] who upon some occasion had only called him an *excellent consul*. And what, says Cicero, could an enemy have said more sparingly? On the other hand, whoever praised and caressed him might get from him whatever they would. The young Cæsar was not sparing in this point. He was continually loading him with civilities and flatteries, called him his father, seemed inclined to depend entirely upon him, and do nothing without his advice. And for this reason Tully, who was extremely warm in the pursuit of every thing he had at heart, [e] so highly extolled him in the senate and before the people, and procured him so many privileges, dispensations and extraordinary honours in preferring the courage with

[b] In vit. Cic.

[c] Pompeius solet aliud sentire et loqui: neque tamen tantum valet ingenio, ut non appareat quid cupiat. Epist. i. lib 8. ad Famil.

[d] Hic autem (Brutus) se etiam tribuere multum mihi putat, quod scripserit optimum consulem. Quis enim jejunius dixit inimicus? Ad Att lib. 12. Epist. 22.

[e] Laudo, laudo vos, Quirites, cum gratissimis animis prosequimini nomen clarissimi adolescentis, vel potius pueri: sunt enim facta ejus immortalitatis, non aetatis. Multa memini, multa audivi, multa legi, nihil tale cognovi, &c. Philip. iv. n. 3. Qui nisi esset in hac republica natus, rempublicam scelere Antonii nullam haberemus. Phil. iii, n. 5.

which he had oppoſed himſelf to Anthony above all the moſt glorious actions. And as men of underſtanding, who doubtleſs diſcerned a great fund of ambition, joined with conſiderable merit in the young Cæſar, were apprehenſive that ſuch particular diſtinctions might be attended with ill conſequences, and the public liberty ſuffer by them, [f] Tully, to reconcile them, perſiſted in repeating, that inſtead of taking any alarm at them, they ought, on the contrary, to have the higheſt expectations from this young man, whoſe ſentiments he was thoroughly acquainted with, and knew that he held nothing more dear than the republic, nothing more deſerving his reſpect than the authority of the ſenate, nothing more valuable than the eſteem of good men, nor any thing more pleaſing and agreeable than true glory.

[g] Brutus, though at a diſtance from Rome and the center of buſineſs, expreſſed the ſame fears and apprehenſions. He repreſented to him, that as he was placed in the higheſt degree of authority and credit that a citizen could have in a free city, and to the ſatisfaction of all his friends, he became in a manner reſponſible for all events; that to a man in his ſtation, good intentions were not ſufficient, unleſs they were attended with prudence; that in the preſent conjuncture, the principal effect of prudence was to be cautious of the honours that were conferred on thoſe who did ſervice to the republic; as the ſenate ought never to grant any thing to a private man, which might become of pernicious example to ſuch as were ill diſpoſed, or even ſupply them with arms and forces againſt the ſtate.

Tully was not thoroughly ſenſible of the wiſdom and importance of this advice, till the young Cæſar began to treat him with coldneſs. [h] He then grew ſenſible what a weight he had laid upon himſelf in paſſing his word for him to the republic, and by

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[f] Philip. v. n. 50, 51.
[g] Brut. ep. iii. ad Cic.
[h] Epiſt. xvii. Cicer. ad Brutum

came apprehenſive that he ſhould ſcarce be able to make good his promiſe. Not that he yet abſolutely deſpaired of it; he thought he ſaw a remedy in his good diſpoſition, but he feared the inconſtancy and flexibility of his age, and dreaded ſtill more the tribe of flatterers that were conſtantly around him, and laboured inceſſantly to turn his head with falſe ideas of a vain and trifling grandeur.

The conſpirators, at whoſe head was Brutus, were at firſt highly honoured and commended. And the young Cæſar himſelf, by purſuing Anthony as an enemy of the republic, ſeemed to declare openly in their favour. But when he ſaw his power entirely eſtabliſhed, he no longer diſſembled, but threw off the maſk. This alteration was very grievous to Cicero, who plainly foreſaw the conſequences of it, which he was no longer in a condition to prevent. He wrote him a letter upon the ſubject, in which he implored his protection for the conſpirators, but in ſuch a manner as highly offended Brutus, to whom Atticus, their common friend, and doubtleſs with Tully's conſent, had ſent a copy of the letter. Brutus expreſſed his grief and aſtoniſhment at it to both of them, in two letters, which well deſerve to be read, as they ſhew, by the generous and noble ſentiments they contain, that this great defender of liberty was juſtly called the laſt of the Romans. I hope it may not be unacceptable, if I here quote ſome paſſages from them.

[h] In the letter to Cicero, after the firſt compliments, he opens his heart to him upon the mean and ſubmiſſive manner in which he wrote to Octavius, which might almoſt occaſion a ſuſpicion, that Cicero thought they had only changed their maſter, and not ſhook off the yoke of dominion. *All that is required of him*, you ſay to him, *is, that he would be pleaſed to protect and defend the citizens, who are eſteemed and valued by men of probity and the Roman people.* Are we then at the diſcretion of Octavius,

[h] Lib. ep. ad Brut. ep. 15.

and ruined unleſs he pleaſes to protect us? It were better to die a hundred deaths, than to be indebted to him for living. [i] I do not think the gods ſo much the enemies of Rome, as to require that the preſervation of any citizen, and much leſs of the deliverers of the world ſhould be aſked of Octavius as a favour. For I think it proper to talk in this high ſtrain to perſons ignorant of what every one has to fear, and of whom any thing is to be aſked. Are we then upon the point of ſettling the conditions of ſlavery, and not of aboliſhing the ſlavery itſelf? What matters it whether it is Cæſar, or Anthony, or Octavius that reigns? Have we only taken up arms to change our maſter, and not to aſſert our liberty? The gods ſhall rather take my life from me a hundred times, than take from me the reſolution of not ſuffering; I ſay not, that the heir of him I have ſlain ſhould reign in his place, but that my very father, were he to live again, ſhould make himſelf lord of the laws and ſenate. You intreat for our ſecurity and return to Rome; but be aſſured, that we value neither the one nor the other, if they are to be bought at the price of our honour and liberty. [k] To live, in my opinion, is to be at a diſtance from ſlavery, and from thoſe who are friends to it. Every place ſhall be Rome to me, where I can be free. [l] Take care, therefore, that you do not hereafter recommend me to that Cæſar; nor, if I have any credit with you, yourſelf either. The few years you have left to live, are of ſtrange value to you, if they can induce you to make abject ſupplications to that boy. For my own part, I am reſolved not to be led by the weakneſs or deſertion of others

[i] Ego medius fidius non exiſtimo tam omnes deos averſos eſſe ſalute populi Romani, ut Octavius orandus ſit pro ſalute cujuſquam civis, non dicam pro liberatoribus orbis terrarum. Juvat enim magnifice loqui; et certe decet adverſus ignorantes quid pro quoque timendum, aut à quoque petendum ſit.

[k] Ego vero longe a ſervientibus abero, mihique judicabo eſſe Romam, ubicunque locorum eſſe licebit.

[l] Me vero poſthac ne commendaveris. Cæſari tuo, ne te quidem ipſum, ſi me audies. Vide care æſtimas tot annos quot iſta ætas recipit, ſi propter eam cau am puero iſti ſupplicaturus es.

thers. There is nothing I shall omit to preserve ou common country from slavery; [m] and I shall loo with pity upon those, in whom neither their advan ced age, the glory of their past actions, nor the ex ample of courage which others set them, can dim nish a fondness for living. If our desires, and th justice of our cause meet with success, we shall b satisfied. But if things happen otherwise, I sha not judge myself at all the more unhappy, as think myself born to defend and deliver my coun try, and that life is only desirable on this account.

[n] In his letter to Atticus, he expresses himsel with still greater force and freedom. I agree, say he, that Cicero had a very good intention in all tha he has done. No body is better acquainted with hi affection and zeal for the republic than I am. But upon this occasion, shall I say that his wisdom i mistaken, or that he has been too much guided by policy? He who was not afraid, for the safety of the state, to make Anthony his enemy. This I am sure of, that by treating Octavius as he has, he has on ly nourished and inflamed his ambition and pre sumption. He boasts of having put an end to the war against Anthony, without moving a single step from Rome Did he do this only to give him a successor? I am grieved that I am forced to write thus to you. But you have desired me to lay open my heart with entire freedom. How imprudent is it, through a blind fear, to draw upon ourselves the ills we apprehend, and which possibly we may a void? [o] death, banishment and poverty, are too ter rible to us. Cicero seems to judge these the worst of misfortunes; and provided he finds persons who

[m] Ac vestri miserebor, quibus nec aetas, neque honores, neque virtus aliena dulcedinem vivendi minuere potuerit.

[n] Ibid epist. 16.

[o] Nimium timemus mortem, exilium, et paupertatem. Haec mihi videntur Ciceroni ultima esse in malis: et, dum habeat à quibus impetret quae velit, et à quibus colatur ac laudetur, servitutem, honorificam modo, non aspernatur: si quicquam in extrema ac miserrima contumelia potest honorificum esse.

respect and commend him, and from whom he may obtain what he desires, he is in no dread of slavery, in case it be honourable; if indeed any thing can be honourable in the lowest and most wretched degree of infamy. Octavius, indeed, may well call Cicero his father, and seem willing to depend entirely upon him, and load him with commendations and civilities. We shall soon see how much his words and actions disagree. Is any thing, in short, more opposite to common sense, than to call him father, whom we do not look upon as a free man? But it is easy to see, that the good Cicero labours only to make Octavius favourable to him. p I no longer set any value upon all his philosophy. For of what use are those noble sentiments to him, with which his books are filled, where he treats of death and banishment, of poverty and solid glory, of real honour, and the zeal which every man ought to shew for the liberty of his country? q Let Cicero then live in submission and servitude, since he is capable of it, and neither his age, nor his honours, nor his past actions, make him ashamed to suffer it! For my own part, no condition of slavery, how honourable soever it may appear, shall hinder me from declaring war against tyranny, against decrees irregularly made, against unjust dominion, and every power that would set itself above the laws. He concludes his letter with declaring, that though his friendship for Cicero is not at all lessened, yet he could not avoid thinking of him with far less esteem than formerly, as it is not in our own power to judge otherwise of men, than from the idea we have conceived of them.

Every thing fell out as Brutus had foreseen. The young Cæsar soon perceived that the men of probity, who were all zealous for liberty, designed to restrain

p Ego verò jam iis artibus nihil tribuo, quibus scio Ciceronem in strictissimum esse. Quid enim illi prosunt quae pro libertate patriae quae de dignitate, de morte, exilio, paupertate scripsit copiosissimè

q Vivat hercule Cicero, qui potest, supplex et obnoxius, si neque aetatis, neque honorum, neque rerum gestarum pudet.

ſtrain his authority within the juſt bounds of a lawful power. He learnt alſo, that Cicero, who ſeldom or ever ſtifled his jeſt, and valued himſelf upon his ſkill in raillery, that Cicero, I ſay, by an ambiguous expreſſion, which is not to be expreſſed in any other language than the Latin, ſpoke of him as of a young man that was to be praiſed and honoured, and then taken off. [r] *Laudandum adoleſcentem, ornandum, tollendum.* But the other ſharply replied, that he would take effectual care that it ſhou'd not happen ſo. *Se non eſſe commiſſurum ut tolli poſſit.*

He took effectual care, indeed, and declaring himſelf at once againſt the conſpirators, commenced a proceſs againſt them. Then Cæſar, Lepidus, and Anthony, being reconciled, and forming amongſt themſelves that famous league which is ſo well known by the name of the ſecond triumvirate, they divided the provinces, made that horrible proſcription of above two hundred of the moſt illuſtrious citizens, and ſet a price upon their heads. We ſee here again how cruel and violent ambition is, even in ſuch perſons as appear to be of a mild and gentle diſpoſition, and how it extinguiſhes all ſenſe of honour, probity and gratitude. [s] Cæſar, to compaſs his end, after a weak and faint reſiſtance, ſacrificed his benefactor, the artificer of his fortune, in a word, the perſon he called father, to the hatred of Anthony. He who for ſo many years had employed his voice in defending the intereſts both of private perſons and the public, died without finding any one to defend himſelf.

[t] What a ſad ſpectacle! The head of Cicero was placed between his two hands upon that very roſtrum, from whence, as conſul, and afterwards as a perſon of conſular dignity, he had ſo often made his voice to be heard; and where, that very year, he had declaimed againſt Anthony, with more than human

[r] Ep. xi. lib. xx. ad Famil. [s] Paterc. lib. ii. n. 66.
[t] Liv. in fragm.

human eloquence and unprecedented applause. He was threescore and three years old when he died, so that his death might not have seemed untimely, if it had not been violent. His genius distinguished itself as well by his works, which were the fruits of it, as the honours which were the reward of it. His state of prosperity, which was of long standing, was mixed with very severe trials, with banishment, the ruin of the party he had embraced, the death of a daughter he affectionately loved, and so unhappy and tragical an end. Of all these misfortunes, death was the only one he bore like a man of courage. After all, set the good against the ill, and we may truly say that he was a very great man, of a very extensive genius, and deserving the admiration of all ages; and that to give him his just praise, would require another Cicero.

[u] St. Augustine, speaking of this event, observes how limited the views of the most prudent men are, and how short-sighted we are in relation to the future. Cicero had warmly espoused the party of the young Cæsar, in hopes of surmounting, by his interest, that of Anthony his enemy, and of restoring liberty by his means; and directly the contrary fell out. It was this young man which gave him up to the rage of Anthony, and within a little time after usurped dominion, and made himself master of the republic.

To resume the series of the narration, and conclude. Cæsar, delivered from his two rivals, by events which it would be too long to relate here, found himself master of all that was subject to the Romans. [x] He then consulted with Agrippa and Mecænas, his most intimate friends, whether he should restore the republic to its ancient liberty, by resigning the authority into the hands of the senate and people, or whether he should take upon him-

[u] De Civit. Dei. lib. iii. c. 30.
[x] Dio, lib. lii. M. de Tillem. vie d'Aug.

ſelf the ſovereign power. Agrippa, though he was the companion of his fortune, and the huſband of his niece, was of the firſt opinion. Mecænas repreſented to him, by a great many reaſons, that the ſtate could not ſubſiſt but under a monarchy; that he could not himſelf reſign his authority, without danger of his life; but that he would find it his glory as well as his ſecurity, to govern in a juſt and equitable manner. Cæſar therefore complied with this laſt advice. M. de St. Evremont has given us a deſcription of his government and genius, which well deſerves to be read. I ſhall here inſert an extract of it.

" After the tyranny of the triumvirate, and the " deſolation which the civil war had wrought, he " was diſpoſed at laſt to govern a people by reaſon, " whom he had ſubdued by force; and diſguſted " at the violence to which he was led, perhaps by " the neceſſity of his affairs, he was pleaſed to e- " ſtabliſh an happy ſubjection, which was farther " removed from ſlavery than from their ancient li- " berty.

" One of his greateſt and moſt conſtant cares was, " to make the Romans taſte the happineſs of his go- " vernment, and render his dominion as inſenſible " to them as poſſible. He caſt off even the very " names that might diſpleaſe them, and eſpecially " rejected the character of dictator, which was de- " teſted in Sylla, and odious in Cæſar himſelf.

" The generality of perſons, who raiſe themſelves, " aſſume new titles, to authoriſe their new power. " He choſe to conceal a new power under familiar " names and common titles of honour. He cauſed " himſelf to be called [y] Emperor from time to time, " to preſerve his authority over the legions; he was " created tribune, to diſpoſe of the people, and was " called Prince of the ſenate, to govern it. But by " uniting

[y] He tranſmitted the title of Emperor to his ſucceſſors, as alſo that of Auguſtus, which he received after the famous battle of Actium.

" uniting so many different powers in his person, he " charged himself also with different employments, " and became the general, the magistrate, and the " senator, when he had attained the sovereignty. " Thus he made no other use of his power, than to " remove the confusion which universally prevailed. " He restored the people to their rights, and re- " trenched only the canvassing that was usual in the " election of magistrates. He restored the senate to " their ancient splendor, after he had first banished " corruption from it. For he contented himself " with a moderate power, which did not leave him " the liberty of doing ill; but he exercised an abso- " lute one, when he was to impose upon others the " necessity of doing well. Thus the people were as " free as before in every other respect but that of " being seditious; and the senate was full as pow- " erful, except that it could not be equally unjust. " Liberty lost nothing but the ills which it might " occasion, not any thing of the happiness it could " produce."

[z] Upon his first entrance on his sovereign authority, he had the pleasure of seeing the temple of Janus shut, which was never done, but when wars were ceased throughout the empire. M. de Tillemont observes after Eusebius, that the Son of God being upon the point of making himself man, to bring us from heaven the true peace with God, ourselves, and the rest of mankind, was pleased at the same time to give an image of that inward peace, by establishing an outward and visible peace upon earth. This peace and union of a great number of provinces in one and the same monarchy, was agreeable to the designs of God, by the facility it gave the preachers of the gospel to pass from province to province, and universally diffuse the light of the faith; and the people not being engaged by the troubles and tumult of wars, gave a willing ear to what they preached

[a] M. Tillem. vie d'Aug.

preached, and embraced the faith with joy, when God had opened their hearts by his grace.

'Tis thus that God the ſole arbiter of all human events determines as lord of all the fate of empires, preſcribes the form of them, regulates their limits, marks out their duration, and makes the very paſſions and crimes of men ſubſervient to the execution of his gracious and juſt deſigns in favour of mankind; and by the ſecret ſprings of his admirable wiſdom, diſpoſes at a diſtance, and without man's being ſenſible of it, the preparations for the great work to which all the reſt relates, which is the eſtabliſhment of his church and ſalvation of his elect.

PART the FOURTH.

Of FABLE *and* ANTIQUITIES.

IT remains that I ſpeak in this fourth part of fable and antiquities, and this I ſhall do in very few words.

CHAP. I.

Of FABLE.

THERE is no ſubject in literature either of greater uſe than what I now ſpeak of, or more ſuſceptible of profound erudition, or more perplexed with doubts and difficulties. My deſign is not to penetrate into theſe obſcurities, or to reſolve them, but only to exhort youth not to neglect a ſtudy which may be of great advantage to them. I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to two reflections, and but lightly touch upon either of them. One of

of which ſhall relate to the origin of fable, and the other to its utility.

ARTICLE the FIRST.

Of the ORIGIN *of* FABLE.

FABLE, which is a medley compoſed of real facts and ornamental falſhoods, took its riſe from truth, that is from hiſtory as well ſacred as profane; the ſeveral events of which have been altered in different manners and at different times, either by popular opinions, or poetical fictions.

I ſay, that fable took its riſe in part from ſacred hiſtory, and that its firſt and principal origin is to be found there. The family of Noah perfectly inſtructed in religion by that holy Patriarch preſerved for ſome time the worſhip of the true God in all its purity. But when after their fruitleſs endeavours to build the tower of Babel, they were divided and diſperſed into different countries; the diverſity of language and habitation was ſoon followed by an alteration of worſhip. Truth, which till then had been conveyed by the ſole channel of tradition, ſubject to a thouſand variations, and was not yet fixed by ſcripture, the ſecure guardian of facts, truth, I ſay, was obſcured by an infinite number of fables, and thoſe of the lateſt invention increaſed the darkneſs of ſuch as were more ancient.

The tradition of great principles and great events was preſerved amongſt all people not without ſome mixture of fiction, but with evident and very diſcernible traces of truth; a certain proof that the people were all ſprung from the ſame original.

Hence aroſe the univerſal notion of one ſupreme God, Almighty, the Lord and creator of the world, and the conſequence of it, the neceſſity of an outward worſhip by ceremonies and ſacrifices. Hence the uniform and general conſent in reſpect to

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tain facts; the creation of man by the hand of God himself; his state of happiness and innocence, implied by the golden age, when the earth without being watered by the sweat of his brows, or cultivated by painful labour, supplied him with every thing in abundance; the fall of the same man, from whence arose all his misfortunes, and followed by a deluge of crimes which brought on an inundation of waters; the saving of the human race by an ark which stopt upon a mountain, and lastly the propagation of mankind by a single man and his three sons.

But the detail of particular actions being less important, and for this reason less known, was presently altered by fables and fictions; as we clearly see even in the family of Noah. As he was the father of three children, and the people that were descended of them dispersed themselves after the deluge into three different parts of the world, this history gave occasion to the fable of Saturn, whose three children, according to the poets, divided the empire of the world amongst them.

Cham or Ham is the same with Ammon or Jupiter; Japhet, known under this name by the poets, was also worshipped under that of Neptune, because the maritime countries fell to his share.

The posterity of Shem, several of whose descendants had a better sense of religion, left his name in oblivion. For which reason he was taken for the god of the dead and of oblivion.

It is easy to see upon what the scandalous history of Saturn was founded, who was injuriously treated by one of his sons.

It is as easy to comprehend that the licentiousness of the Saturnalia arose from an irreverent remembrance of the drunkenness of Saturn or Noah.

The severe punishment of the son, who saw the nakedness of Noah, has left among the Pagans the memory of Saturn's indignation, who, according to [z] Callimachus, made an irrevocable law,

[z] Callim. hym. εἰς λοῦτρα τῆς Παλλάδος.

that whoever ſhould behave with the like temerity towards the gods, ſhould preſently be deprived of ſight.

How many particulars do we obſerve wherein Moſes and Bacchus agree; and ſo of a great many others?

Here then we have certainly one of the ſources of fable, which is the alteration of facts and events in hiſtory.

The miniſtry of Angels with reference to men has been another. God who had aſſociated the angels to his ſpiritual nature, to his intelligence and immortality, was pleaſed farther to aſſociate them to his providence in the government of the world, as well in relation to nature and the elements, as to the government of nations. [a] The Scripture ſpeaks to us of angels, which preſide over the waters, the winds, the lightning, thunder and earthquakes. It points outs out to us others, who armed with a ſword of thunder ravage all Egypt, deſtroy a vaſt body of people in Jeruſalem by the plague, and exterminate the army of an impious prince. [b] There is mention alſo made of an angel who was prince and protector of the empire of the Perſians; of another, prince of the empire of the Greeks; of the Arch-Angel Michael, prince of the people of God. The external miniſtry of Angels is as ancient as the world, as we ſee from the example of the Cherubim placed at the gate of the terreſtrial Paradiſe, to guard the entrance into it.

Noah and the Patriarchs were thoroughly inſtructed in this truth, which very nearly concerned them; and they were doubtleſs very careful to teach it to their families, who by little and little loſing the purer and ſpiritual ideas of an inviſible Deity, fixed their attention only upon the miniſters of his benefits and vengeance. And thence it poſſibly might happ

a Apoc. c. vii. v. i. c. viii. v. 1, 5, 7. c. xvi. v. 5.
b Dan. c. x. v. 20, 21.

happen that men took their notion of the gods, which presided some over the fruits of the earth, and others over rivers; some over war, others over peace, and so of all the rest; of gods, whose power and ministry were limited to certain countries and certain people, but were all subject to the authority of a supreme God.

Another principle of religion generally engraven in the minds of all people, also made way for the multiplicity of the Pagan divinities; and that is a constant persuasion that divine Providence presides over all human events, both great and small; and that no one, without exception, escapes its vigilance and care. [c] But men astonished at the immense number of particulars, to which it was requisite the Deity should descend, thought to ease him of the trouble by giving every God his peculiar and personal function. *Singulis rebus propria disponentes officia numinum.*

The care of a whole country would have been too much business for a single God; the lands were committed to one, the mountains to another, the hills to a third, and the vallies to a fourth. St Augustin reckons up a dozen different divinities all employed about a stalk of corn; every one of which, according to his particular function, takes a peculiar care of it at different times, from the moment the seed has been thrown into the earth, till the corn arrives at maturity.

[d] Besides this multitude of inferior gods designed for these mean functions, there are others, says St. Augustin, that are more [e] considerable and of an higher rank, as having evidently a more noble share in the government of the world.

But, [f] adds the same father, they are these very important and renowned Gods, which fable has

[c] S. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. iv. c. 8. [d] Lib. viii. c. 2. Illam quasi plebeiam numinum multitudem minutis opusculis destinatum.
[e] Numina selecta dicuntur . . . quia opera majora ab his administrantur in mundo.
[f] Illam infimam turbam ipsa ignobilitas texit ne obrueretur opprobriis. . . . . Vix selectorum quispiam, quia non in se notam contumeliae insignis acceperit. Lib. vii. cap. 4.

moſt diſgraced and diſparaged, by attributing to them the moſt ſhameful crimes and moſt deteſtable diſorders, murders, adulteries and inceſts. Whereas, in the caſe of thoſe inferior gods, their obſcurity and meanneſs has ſecured their honour, by leaving them in oblivion. And this has beſides been a fruitful ſource of fictions, with which the corruption of man's heart has ſupplied fable, in order to palliate and excuſe the moſt frightful irregularities, by the example of the gods themſelves?

There was no ſpecies of infamy which was not authorized, and even conſecrated, by the worſhip paid to certain gods. [g] Upon the feſtival of the mother of the gods, they ſung ſuch ſongs that the mother of a comedian would have bluſhed at; and Scipio Naſica, who was choſen by the ſenate as the fitteſt man in the republic with whom to lodge her ſtatue, would have been grieved to have had his own mother a goddeſs at ſuch a rate, or that ſhe had held the place of Cybele.

[h] The philoſophers blamed all theſe impure ceremonies, but with fear, in faint terms, and only within the limits of their own ſchools. However religious among their diſciples, they followed the people in the temples and theatres, where theſe abominations took place; and [i] Seneca, in a work which we have loſt, where he rails with great force at theſe ſacrilegious ſuperſtitions, declares, notwithſtanding, that a wiſe man will externally conform to them, in compliance to the laws of the ſtate, though he knows well that ſuch a worſhip can never pleaſe the gods, but muſt only provoke them. *Quæ omnia ſapiens ſervabit tanquam legibus juſſa, non tanquam diis grata.*

I do not here propoſe to point out all the ſources from whence fable has taken its riſe, but only to ſhew ſome of the moſt common; and in this number we may place the ſenſe of admiration or gratitud

[g] Lib. ii. c. 4, 5.

[h] Etſi non libere praedicando, ſaltem utcunque in diſputationibus muſſitando, talia ſe improbare teſtati ſunt. Lib. vi. c. 1.

[i] Ibid. c. 20.

tude, which inclined men to annex the idea of divinity to whatever made an impreſſion on their imagination, nearly affected them, or ſeemed to procure them any advantage, ſuch as the ſun, moon, or ſtars; the fathers with regard to the children, and children with reſpect to their fathers; the perſons who had either invented or carried any uſeful arts to perfection; the heroes who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in war by extraordinary valour, or purged the land of robbers and diſturbers of the public tranquillity; and laſtly, all thoſe, who by any virtue or glorious action ſeemed ſuperior to the generality of mankind. And it is very viſible, without my obſerving it, that profane, as well as ſacred hiſtory, has given occaſion to all thoſe demi-gods and heroes which fable has placed in heaven, by joining frequently under one and the ſame head and name, ſuch actions as were very diſtinct both as to time, place, and perſons.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

Of the USEFULNESS *of* FABLE.

WHAT I have already obſerved concerning the origin of fables, which owe their birth to fiction, error and falſhood, to the alteration of hiſtorical facts, and the corruption of man's heart, may give reaſon to aſk, whether it is proper to inſtruct Chriſtian children in all the fooliſh inventions, abſurd and idle dreams, with which paganiſm has filled the books of antiquity.

This ſtudy, when applied to with all the precaution and wiſdom which religion demands and inſpires, may be very uſeful to youth.

Firſt, it teaches them what they owe to Jeſus Chriſt, their Redeemer, who has delivered them from the power of darkneſs, to bring them into the admirable light of the goſpel. Before him, what

were even the wiſeſt and beſt of men, thoſe celebrated philoſophers, thoſe great politicians, thoſe famous legiſlators of Greece, thoſe grave ſenators of Rome, in a word, all the beſt governed and wiſeſt nations of the world? Fable informs us, they were blind worſhippers of the devil, who bent their knees before gold, ſilver and marble; who offered incenſe to ſtatues, that were deaf and dumb; who acknowledged, as Gods, animals, reptiles and plants; who were not aſhamed to adore an adulterous Mars, a proſtituted Venus, and an inceſtuous Juno, a Jupiter polluted with all manner of crimes, and, for that reaſon, moſt worthy of the firſt place among the gods.

What great impurities, what monſtrous abominations were admitted into their ceremonies, their ſolemnities and myſteries? The temples of their gods were ſchools of licentiouſneſs, their pictures invitations to ſin, their groves places of proſtitution, their ſacrifices a frightful mixture of ſuperſtition and cruelty.

In this condition were all mankind, except the people of the Jews, for near four thouſand years. In this ſtate were our fathers, and we ſhould have likewiſe been, if the light of the goſpel had not diſperſed our darkneſs. Every ſtory in fabulous hiſtory, every circumſtance of the lives of the gods ſhould fill us at once with confuſion, admiration and gratitude, and ſeem to cry out to us aloud in the words of St. Paul to the Epheſians. [k] *Remember*, and forget it not, *that being ſprung from Gentiles, ye were ſtrangers from the covenants of promiſe, having no hope and without God in the world.*

A ſecond advantage of fable is, that in diſcovering to us the abſurd ceremonies and impious maxims of paganiſm, it ought to inſpire us with new reſpect for the auguſt majeſty of the Chriſtian religion and the ſanctity of its morals. We learn from eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, that an holy [l] biſhop, in order to eradicate

[k] Eph. ii. v. 11. 12.

[l] Theophilus biſhop of Alexandria. Theod. v. c. 22. Ruf. ii. c. 23, 24. Socr. v. c. 16.

eradicate entirely all diſpoſitions to idolatry out of the minds of the faithful, brought to light and publicly expoſed all that was found in the inſide of a temple he had cauſed to be demoliſhed, the bones of men, the members of children ſacrificed to devils, and ſeveral other footſteps of the ſacrilegious worſhip, which the pagans paid to their deities. The ſtudy of fable ſhould produce a like effect in the mind of every ſenſible perſon, and it is this uſe that the holy fathers and all the apologiſts of Chriſtianity have made of it.

It is impoſſible to underſtand the books which have been written upon this ſubject, without having ſome knowledge of fabulous hiſtory. St. Auguſtin's great work, intitled, *De Civitate Dei*, which has done ſo much honour to the church, is at the ſame time both a proof of what I lay down, and a perfect model of the manner how we ought to ſanctify profane ſtudies. The ſame may be ſaid of the other fathers, who have gone upon the ſame plan from the beginning of Chriſtianity, Theophilus of Antioch, Tatian, Arnobius, Lactantius, Theodoret, Euſebius of Cæſarea, and eſpecially St. Clement of Alexandria, whoſe Stromata are not to be underſtood by any one, that is not verſed in this part of ancient learning. Whereas the knowledge of fable makes the underſtanding of them extremely eaſy, which we ought to look upon as no ſmall advantage.

It is alſo very uſeful (and particularly to youth for whom I write) for the underſtanding both of Greek, Latin, French and Engliſh authors, in reading of which they muſt be often at a ſtand without ſome acquaintance with fable. I do not ſpeak only of the poets, to whom we know it is a kind of natural language; it is alſo frequently made uſe of by orators, and ſometimes, by an unhappy application, ſupplies them with very lively and eloquent turns: Such, for inſtance, amongſt a great many others, is the following paſſage in Tully's oration concerning Mithridates king of Pontus. The orator takes notice,

notice, [m] that this prince, flying before the Romans after the loss of a battle, found means to escape out of the hands of his covetous conquerors, by scattering upon the road, from time to time, a part of his treasures and spoils. In like manner, says he, as is told of Medea, that when she was pursued by her father, in the same country, she scattered the members of her brother Absyrtus, whom she had cut to pieces, along the way, that his care in gathering up the dispersed members, and his grief at the sight of so sad a spectacle, might retard his pursuit. The resemblance is exact, except that, as Tully remarks, Æeta, the father of Medea, was stopped in his course by sorrow, and the Romans by joy.

There are different species of books exposed to the view of the whole world, such as pictures, prints, tapestry, and statues. These are so many riddles to those who are ignorant of fabulous history, from whence their explication is frequently to be taken. These matters are likewise frequently brought into discourse, and it is not, in my opinion, over agreeable to sit mute, and seem stupid in company, for want of being instructed, whilst young, in a matter so easy to be learnt.

All these reasons have ever made me wish, that somebody would be at the pains to draw up an history of the fabulous times, which might be put into the hands of all the world, and be expressly calculated for the use of youth. F. Galtruchius's work is somewhat of this kind, but it is too short; as is also F. Jouvenci's treatise, intitled, *Appendix de Diis*, which otherwise is excellent. M. l'Abbé Bannier's performance, in three volumes, contains most of what is wanting upon this subject, the substance of it being taken from history itself, which is the best system in this kind, and explains the different sources of it with great solidity and erudition. But this work is too learned and too large for the boys, as that also of F. Tournemine would

[m] Pro lege Manil. n. 22.

would be; of which he has given us such a plan, as makes us wish the work was finished. There has been lately published a book, entitled, *Dictionnaire de la fable.* It may be very useful in clearing up any difficulties relating to fable, which may occur in reading, but is not a continued history.

One single volume of a reasonable length, might be made to contain the most considerable and remarkable facts, and such as would contribute most to the understanding of authors. I should think it would be advisable to omit what barely relates to learning, as it would render the study of fable more difficult and less agreeable, or at least, to throw all reflections of this kind into short notes; but it would be absolutely requisite, to throw out every thing that might be prejudicial to purity of manners, and not only to leave out any story, but even any expression that might give the least offence to any chaste or christian ears. I have engaged a person, who has a great deal of knowledge, judgment and piety, to undertake this small performance, which cannot but be very useful to all young persons of both sexes; and I hope in a little time it will be in a condition to be published.

CHAP. II.

Of Antiquities.

Besides the events contained in history, and the reflections which are the natural consequence of them, this study contains still another part, which, though less necessary and agreeable indeed, may yet be very useful, if made with judgment and discretion; I mean the knowledge of usages, customs, and whatever else is understood by the name of antiquities. The readers of history are in some respect like travellers. There is generally some end proposed, either of going into their own country, or to some other places, whither their business or their interest

intereſt leads them; and it is this end, this motive, which puts them in action, and ſets them a-going. Notwithſtanding, if they have leiſure and curioſity, they take care by the way, to examine whatever they meet worth notice, and inſert it in the journals or memoirs they draw up for their own private uſe. Thus alſo we ſhould act in ſtudying hiſtory, beſides the ſeries of facts and events, and the wiſe reflections ariſing from them, we ſhould carefully collect whatever relates to uſages, cuſtoms, laws, arts, and a thouſand other curious branches of knowledge, which ſerve as ornaments to the mind, and likewiſe contribute very much to the perfect underſtanding of what we read.

The Uſefulneſs of the Study of Antiquities.

This ſtudy, to a certain degree, is abſolutely neceſſary to all maſters. There are, in all authors, a great many expreſſions, alluſions, and compariſons, which cannot be underſtood without it; and it is ſcarce poſſible without it to make one ſingle ſtep in the reading of hiſtory, and not be puzzled with difficulties, which a very ſlight knowledge of antiquity would frequently reſolve. Let any one lightly run over the firſt book of Livy, which, with the origin of the Roman people, contains that of the greateſt part of their laws and cuſtoms, and he will ſoon be ſenſible of the utility and advantage of the ſtudy I am now recommending.

I know that this ſtudy, like all others, if carried too far, has its rocks and dangers. There is a kind of obſcure and ill-managed learning, which is employed only upon queſtions equally vain and frivolous, which hunts after what is moſt abſtruſe and uncommon in every ſubject, and is almoſt wholly confined to the diſcovery of ſuch things as are abſolutely ſuperfluous, and which it is often better to be ignorant of than to know. [n] Seneca, in more than

on

[n] Ecce Romanos quoque invaſit inane ſtudium ſupervacua diſcendi. Lib. de brev. vit. cap. xiv.

one place, complains of this bad taste, which taking rise amongst the Greeks, transferred itself to the Romans, and began to seize upon the nation. [o] He observes, that there is, in point of study, as in every thing else, a vicious excess and intemperance; that it is no less blameable to collect at a vast expence, an heap of useless knowledge, than of superfluous furniture; that this sort of learning is calculated only to make men impertinent, foolishly possessed with a notion of their own merit, and at the bottom really ignorant. Speaking of Didymus, the famous grammarian, who had wrote four thousand volumes, wherein he hath examined abundance of useless questions, not worth remembering; I should have thought him wretched enough, says Seneca, if he had been condemned, I say, not to write, but only to read such a heap of trifles. *Quatuor millia librorum Didymus grammaticus scripsit; miser, si tam multa supervacua legisset.*

[p] Juvenal also justly derides the bad taste of some persons

[o] Plus scire velle, quam sit satis, intemperantiæ genus est.... An tu existimas reprehendendum, qui supervacua usu sibi comparat, et pretiosarum rerum pompam in domo explicat? non putas eum, qui occupatus est in supervacua literarum supellectile? quid quod ista liberalium artium consectatio molestos, verbosos, intempestivos, sibi placentes facit, et ideo non dicentes necessaria, quia supervacua dicerunt. Epist. 88.

[p] Sed vos sævas imponite leges,
Ut præceptori verborum regula constet;
Ut legat historias; auctores noverit omnes
Tanquam ungues digitosque suos, ut forte rogatus
Dum petit aut thermas, aut Phœbi balnea, dicat
Nutricem Anchisæ, nomen patriamque novercæ
Anchemoli; dicat, quot Aceses vixerit annos,
Quot Siculus Phrygibus vini donaverit urnas. Juv. liv. 3. Sat. 7.

——hard laws upon the master lay.
Be sure he knows exactly grammar rules,
And all the best historians read in schools;
All authors, ev'ry poet to an hair;
That, ask'd the question, he may scarce despair
To tell who nurs'd Anchises, or to name
Anchemolus's stepmother, and whence she came:
How long Aceses liv'd, what stores of wine
He gave to the departing Trojan line.

perſons in his time, who were not ſatisfied unleſs a preceptor directly could give an anſwer to a thouſand abſurd and ridiculous queſtions. It is, in ſhort, to be little acquainted with the value of time, and to ſpend one's pains and labour to very bad purpoſe, to employ them in the ſtudy of ſuch difficulties and obſcurities, as are at the ſame time, according to [q] Tully's obſervation, unneceſſary, and often trifling and vain.

Turpe eſt difficiles habere nugas,
Et ſtultus labor eſt ineptiarum. MARTIAL.

A judicious maſter will carefully avoid falling into this miſtake. In applying himſelf to hiſtory and antiquities, he will not carry his enquiries too far, but be guided in this point by prudence and diſcretion. He will remember what [r] Quintilian ſays, that it is a fooliſh and pitiful vanity, to be over curious in knowing all that the worſt authors have ſaid upon a ſubject; that ſuch an occupation very idly waſtes the time and pains which ought to be better employed; and that among the virtues and perfections of a good maſter, it is none of the leaſt to be ignorant in ſome particulars. *Ex quo mihi inter virtutes grammatici habebitur, aliqua neſcire.*

There is an art of making theſe dry and ordinarily tedious matters very agreeable, by intermixing them with ſhort ſtories and reflections; by removing from them moſt of the thorns and difficulties, and leaving only the flower, in a manner, for the boys to gather, by exalting their taſte, and awakening their curioſity with ſuch particular circumſtances as are likely to make an impreſſion; in a word, by making them fond of this kind of exerciſe, and expect it with a ſort of impatience.

With theſe precautions we cannot too much recommend the ſtudy of antiquities, either to ſcholars

[q] Alterum eſt vitium, quod quidam nimis magnum ſtudium multamque operam in res obſcuras atque difficiles conferunt, eaſdemque non neceſſarias. Offic. lib. 1. n. 19.

[r] Quintil. lib. 1. cap.

or masters. The latter especially should look upon it as an essential branch of their duty. It is a part of learning, not only suitable to their character, but absolutely necessary for all such persons as are designed by their station to study and teach the *belles lettres*. The university has, in all ages, been distinguished by this particular, as well as in every other respect. She has constantly sent abroad all sorts of learned men, who have done honour to literature and the nation, by the valuable works they have published. Turnebus, Muretus, Buchanan, Scaliger, Casaubon, and the many others, who have taught or studied in the university of Paris.

It is incumbent on us to support their glory, and to look upon their reputation as a rich inheritance, which we ought to transmit to our successors in all its value, and not suffer it to be spent or lavished by our idleness and indolence. We see several of our brethren in the university distinguish themselves in different kinds of literature, according to their particular taste and inclination, either by compositions in prose, or in Greek or Latin verses; or by a diligent study of rhetoric and the old rhetoricians; of the art of poetry, and the writers who had treated it; of grammar in general, and all its parts; by an exact knowledge of the ancient authors of the Greek and Roman history, and of the antiquities of both nations. We are allowed a noble emulation in this point, and we should all of us strive to equal, and, if possible, even to excel those who have gone before us.

It is not only the glory of the university which is herein concerned, but the honour of the nation ought sensibly to affect us. Some neighbouring countries seem inclined to deprive us of the glory of learning, by their extraordinary application to the sciences, and by the great and learned works with which they enrich the public. They cannot deny the French their excellency in eloquence and poetry, in the study of polite learning, in the beauty and

delicacy of compoſition; the age of Lewis le Grand having been to us what the age of Auguſtus was formerly to the Romans, that is, the rule and model of good taſte in every kind. In preſerving this glorious part of our ancient inheritance with care and jealouſy, we muſt not neglect another, which ought alſo to be very valuable to us, and it is the perfection of our condition to join both together, a good taſte of the *belles lettres* with that of erudition.

Theſe two parts, though very different, are not incompatible, and ſhould be ready to lend each other a mutual aſſiſtance; in ſhort, erudition makes a quite different figure, when ſupported by elegant and beautiful compoſition; ſuch as we ſee in the works of Muretus, Manutius, and a great many other illuſtrious learned men, who have done ſuch honour to literature; and on the other ſide, the delicacy of compoſition receives very conſiderable improvements from the ſolidity and multiplicity of thoughts, and materials ſupplied by erudition.

I know not whether I am blinded by a love to my country, and prejudiced for a body of which I have the honour to be a member, but in my opinion the two characters I have juſt mentioned, are happily united in moſt of the memoirs which the royal academy of *inſcriptions* and *belles lettres* have publiſhed. We find there a conſiderable part of antiquities explained with great clearneſs and eloquence. I have made great uſe of them in the little I relate here. The twofold title this academy bears of *inſcriptions* and *belles lettres*, ſufficiently ſhews, that their deſign is to unite the polite part of literature with the depth of erudition. Not to mention ſeveral other learned members of this body, ſuch as were M. L'Abbe Fraguier, and M. L'Abbe Maſſieu, they have lately loſt an excellent perſon, who had both theſe qualities in an eminent degree, I mean the younger M. Boivin, the royal profeſſor in the Greek tongue, keeper of the king's library, and one of the forty in the French academy. He had

vaſt fund of erudition, and I queſtion whether any man in all Europe was more thoroughly maſter of the Greek tongue than he; and yet at the ſame time he compoſed in three languages, Greek, Latin and French, either in proſe or verſe, in a manner extremely elegant. Several of the moſt able profeſſors in the univerſity never failed to lay their compoſitions before him, and always found an advantage from his criticiſm, which was equally modeſt and judicious. For my own part, though he was much younger than me, I always looked upon him as my maſter in matters of polite learning, eſpecially where the Greek was concerned, and I ſtand indebted to him for a great part of the little I have known.

It is this erudition which young maſters ſhould aim at, who are ſeriouſly inclined to follow their own ſtudies, and direct thoſe of others. Nor ſhould they be frightened with the length and difficulty of the labour; for by ſetting apart a certain portion of their time every day for the reading of ancient authors, they will by little and little make ſo rich a collection in this kind, as themſelves will afterwards be aſtoniſhed at; let them but begin, make the beſt uſe of their time, and take down their remarks with order and perſpicuity. But a man muſt have already ſome tincture of erudition, before he can know what it is proper for him to obſerve as he reads. Thus to confine myſelf to the preſent point, it were to be wiſhed that a maſter, before he engages in the ſtudy of the ancient hiſtorians, would at leaſt run over what Roſinus has written upon the Roman antiquities. This is not a work of much labour, and may notwithſtanding be of great advantage to young maſters in the peruſal of authors, by making them attentive to ſeveral things which otherwiſe might eſcape them. We have a ſmall Latin treatiſe, by F. Cantel the jeſuit, entitled, *De Romana Republica*, which is very proper for young beginners. There is alſo one in French, but very conciſe, called, *Abregé des Antiquités Romaines*, which may be put in-

to the hands of the boys, till a better is expreſly drawn up for their uſe; and I hope ſome ſkilful maſter will take upon himſelf this little work. A good part of what relates to antiquities may be reduced to ſeven or eight heads, *viz.* religion, politics, war, navigation, public monuments, and buildings, games, battles, ſpectacles, arts and ſciences, and the uſages of common life, ſuch as meals, habits, money, &c.

Every one of theſe parts contains a great many others. For inſtance, under the title of religion are comprehended the gods, the prieſts, the temples, the veſſels, and other inſtruments employed in ſeveral acts of religion, the ſacrifices, feaſts, vows and oblations, oracles and predictions; and under the title of political government, the comitia or aſſemblies, the different offices of magiſtracy, the laws and judgments; and ſo of all the reſt.

There are abundance of curious points, and ſuch as certainly deſerve to be taken notice of, which a maſter that has ſome knowledge in this ſtudy may obſerve to his ſcholars, as occaſion offers, and which in time will ſupply them with an abundance of uſeful and agreeable points of knowledge, at no great expence of pains. A few examples will explain my meaning, and ſhew how ſerviceable the ſtudy of antiquities may be towards exciting the curioſity of youth, and inſpiring them with a taſte for learning, or even to inſtil into them the uſeful principles of morality and religion. I ſhall here confine myſelf to one ſingle article relating to arts, and ſhall treat only of a very ſmall part of them.

Facts and Reflections relating to the Invention of Arts.

It is of great moment, as we read, to obſerve carefully the origin of arts and ſciences, their different progreſs, their declenſion and fall; the rare and curious facts, which occur upon this ſubject; tho

the illuſtrious men, who have excelled in them; the Princes, who have made the ſtudy of them flouriſh by giving protection and encouragement to ſuch perſons, as have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſkill in any art; nor muſt we omit the diſcoveries which have eſcaped the enquiries of the ancients and been reſerved for later ages. I ſhall here ſpeak only to the two laſt articles, and content myſelf with pointing out ſome few examples, to which I ſhall add ſomething upon meaſures and coins.

I. *Diſcoveries unknown to the Ancients.*

In the deſcription of battles, with which authors abound, youth often find the cavalry mentioned, but ſeldom obſerve one thing, which is very ſurpriſing in itſelf and ſcarce comprehenſible; which is, that anciently the horſemen never made uſe of ſtirrups. They muſt either, when grown heavy with age, have been put upon their horſes by their grooms, if they had any; or have taken the advantage of a higher ground, or of ſome ſtone, or a trunk of a tree. [s] Plutarch obſerves, that Gracchus placed ſtones at certain diſtances upon the great roads, to aſſiſt horſemen in mounting on horſeback.

We are with reaſon ſurpriſed, that the ancients never made uſe of glaſs for their windows. Glaſs however was in uſe amongſt them; without mentioning the looking glaſſes and large panes, which were the ornaments of their chambers, they made vaſes, cups and goblets of glaſs, which perfectly imitated cryſtal, and were none of the leaſt ornaments of their buffets. What could be more eaſy than to glaze their windows with it, and yet this was what the ancients never did.

They likewiſe never uſed any linen for their ſhirts, which however is ſo neat and wholeſome; and this was one of the reaſons which made bathing ſo abſolutely neceſſary amongſt them.

[s] In vit. Gracch.

It is alſo proper to obſerve to pupils, that ſeveral of the moſt neceſſary inventions of life, ſuch as water-mills, wind-mills, ſpectacles, the compaſs, printing, and a great many others of the like nature, were unknown to the ancients; and that we owe the greateſt part of theſe rare and valuable inventions to the barbarous ages, in which the ſtupidity and ignorance ſtill prevailed, that the eruption of the northern people, enemies and deſtroyers of all the works of art, had ſpread over all Europe. How many diſcoveries have been made in aſtronomy by means of the teleſcope? how great a change has the compaſs made in navigation?

It is highly proper upon this occaſion to obſerve, that the invention of arts ought not to be attributed to human induſtry alone, but to a peculiar providence, which uſually concealing itſelf under ſuch circumſtances, as ſeem to be the effect of chance, conducts mankind by degrees to wonderful diſcoveries, in order to procure for them at appointed ſeaſons the neceſſities and conveniencies of life. This is a truth confeſſed by the heathen themſelves, and [a] Tully running over what was moſt uſeful and valuable in nature, owns that all this would have remained in oblivion and buried in the bowels of the earth, if God had not diſcloſed the knowledge and uſe of it to man.

To confirm this reflection and render the truth more evident, it may be proper to explain at large to youth the particular circumſtance of the compaſs; and ſuch an account cannot but be very pleaſing to them. The compaſs then, they may be told, is a ſmall box, in which there is incloſed a needle, that has been touched by a loadſtone, and ſo ſupported that it may eaſily be turned every way. This needle by virtue of the loadſtone, which has touched it, always conſtantly directs itſelf ſo as to fix very near upon the meridian line, turning one of its extremities towards the north, and the other towards the ſouth, and by this means diſcovers to the pilot the courſe he

[a] Cic. lib. i. de Divin. n. 116.

he ſteers. The ancients before the invention of the compaſs, could not ſail very far in the open ſea, as they had no other guidance than the ſun and ſtars; and when this aſſiſtance failed them, they went on by chance, and knew not what courſe the veſſel took; for which reaſon they never removed very far from the coaſts, nor ventured to undertake any long voyages. The compaſs has removed theſe difficulties, as it conſtantly ſhews where the north and ſouth lie, let the weather be what it will by day or night, and by a neceſſary conſequence ſhews which is the eaſt and which is the weſt, and certainly points out the courſe the veſſel is to take.

The diſcovery of the new world, and conſequently the ſalvation of abundance of ſouls, depended upon the invention of the compaſs; and 'tis ſurpriſing it ſhould have lyen ſo long concealed. For it has been known in Europe but about three hundred years. The ancients were perfectly acquainted with one of the two ſpecific virtues of the loadſtone, to wit, that of attracting and ſupporting iron; how came they not to diſcover the other of turning and fixing itſelf always towards the north and ſouth, which now appears to us ſo eaſy and natural a diſcovery? Who does not clearly ſee, that God who makes men attentive to the effects of nature, or heedleſs of them according to his own deſigns and good pleaſure, had reſerved this important diſcovery in his eternal decrees, for the ſeaſon in which he was pleaſed that the goſpel ſhould be tranſported into thoſe countries, which till then were inacceſſible to our ſhips, as they were ſeparated from us by immenſe tracts of ſea, which could not be croſſed over, as God had not yet taken away the obſtacle to our entrance into them?

In ſpeaking of the veſſels of the ancients to the pupils, it will be proper to inform them, that the learned differ much about the manner in which the ranks of oars were diſpoſed. There are ſome, ſays F. de Montfaucon, who will have them placed longways, almoſt in the ſame manner as the ranks of

oars

oars are now placed in galleys; others, and amongſt this number himſelf, are of opinion, that the ranks of the biremes, the triremes, the quinqueremes, or pentiremes, and the reſt which have been multiplied to the number of forty in certain veſſels, were ſet one above another; not perpendicularly, for this would be impoſſible; but obliquely, and as it were by ſteps; and this they prove by abundance of paſſages from ancient authors. But what is ſtill more deciſive in favour of this opinion, the ancient monuments, and eſpecially the column of Trajan, repreſent theſe ranks one above another; yet adds, F. Montfaucon, the beſt of our ſeamen ſay, that this is impoſſible. All thoſe, ſays he, with whom I have diſcourſed upon this ſubject, ſome of which are perſons of the firſt diſtinction, and of abilities known to the whole world, agree in the ſame opinion.

Without any great ſkill in matters relating to the ſea, it is eaſily conceived, that there muſt have been an almoſt inſuperable difficulty in the working of veſſels of extroardinary bigneſs, ſuch as were thoſe of [u] Ptolemy Philopator King of Egypt, and Hiero King of Syracuſe. The veſſels of Hiero built by the direction of Archimedes, had one of them twenty ranks of oars and the other forty. This laſt was two hundred and eighty cubits long, thirty eight broad, and about fifty cubits high. The oars of thoſe who held the higheſt rank were thirty eight cubits long. It appears by the column of Trajan, that in the biremes and triremes, there was only one rower to every oar. It is not eaſy to decide for the reſt. Thus [x] Plutarch obſerves, that the veſſel of Ptolemy, which was more like an immoveable building than a ſhip, was only for pomp and ſhow, and not for uſe. Livy ſays almoſt the ſame thing of the ſhip of Philip King of Macedon, which had ſixteen ranks of oars. [y] *Juſſus Philippus*

[u] A deſcription of them may be ſeen in Athenæus, lib. v.
[x] In vit. Demetr. [y] Liv. lib. xxxiii. n. 30.

Philippus naves omnes tectas tradere, quin et regiam unam inhabilis prope magnitudinis, quam jexdecim versus remorum agebant. Vegetius reckons only among ships of a reasonable bigness and fit for war, the quinqueremes and those of less rank; and there is scarce mention made of any others amongst authors. It seems farther evident, that from the time of Augustus they scarce ever made use of vessels with more ranks of oars than the triremes and the biremes.

But to pass a right judgment upon the working of these vessels of such extraordinary bigness, a man must have seen them with his own eyes. [y] We read of the ships of Demetrius king of Syria, which had sixteen ranks of oars. Before his time, there had never been seen any thing like them. Their agility, says Plutarch, their speed, and their easiness in tacking about, was still more admirable than their enormous bulk. All this was the invention of that prince, who had a wonderful genius for arts, and found out abundance of things unknown to the architects. These ships were the admiration of mankind in his age, who could not have believed this had been possible, if they had not seen it.

I have made these remarks, to shew how important it is, in reading the Greek and Latin authors, to be very careful to observe exactly whatever relates to the building of vessels, their forms and different kinds, and to the different alterations that have happened in sea affairs, with reference to navigation, in the descriptions they give us of fleets and engagements at sea.

I must however advertise youth in general, that there are certain wonderful facts related by the ancients, upon which they would do well to suspend their belief a while, till they have been more carefully examined. [z] Pliny says, that in the time of Tiberius, they had found out the secret of making glass malleable; but this invention was entirely stifled, for

[y] Plut. in vit. Demetr. Diod. Sic. lib. xx.
[z] Lib. xxxvi. cap. 6.

for fear it should lessen the price and value of gold, silver, and all sorts of metals. [a] Dion tells us of a workman, who designedly letting a glass vessel, which he offered to Tiberius, fall to the ground, presently gathered up the pieces, and after he had handled them a little, shewed the vessel whole and without a fracture. Other authors after Pliny have related the same fact; and yet the learned declare, that this pretended malleability of glass is a mere chimera, absolutely rejected by sound physics. And Pliny himself owns, that what was said of it was grounded more on report, than any certain foundation.

I question whether more credit is due to what the same [b] Pliny relates of a small fish, called by the Greeks *Echeneis*, and by the Latins *Remora*, which fastening itself in the rudder of the galley, that carried the emperor Caligula, stopt its course in such a manner, that four hundred rowers were unable to move it one way or other.

II. *Honours paid to learned Men.*

There are many things proper to be observed in ancient history concerning the honours paid to such as have been inventors of arts, or have carried them to perfection, or in general to the learned of the first rank, who have been distinguished in a particular manner. But my design does not admit me to dwell long upon this subject, affecting as it is to us.

[c] One cannot read the letter, which Philip king of Macedon wrote to Aristole, without admiring to find that it was a greater satisfaction to this prince to have the first philosopher of his age, and the most learned man the world ever produced, for tutor to his son, than it was to have been his father.

The singular value that Alexander the Great had for the poems of Homer, and the respect he paid

[a] Lib. lvii. p. 617.
[b] Lib. xxxi. c. 1.
[c] Aul. Gel. lib. ix. cap. 3.

the memory of Pindar, when he ſtormed the city of Thebes, have gained him no leſs reputation than all his conqueſts; and we almoſt as much admire him, when diſmiſſing the pomp of royalty, he chuſes to diſcourſe familiarly with the famous painters and ſculptors of his time, as when marching at the head of his army, he ſpreads an univerſal terror.

The glorious protection which Mecænas gave men of letters, employing all the intereſt he had with his prince in doing them ſervice, has rendered his name immortal, and acquired the age of Auguſtus the glory of being always regarded as the golden age of literature, and the rule of good taſte in every kind of learning.

[d] When we read that the King of Spain and Cardinal Ximenes, going one day to a public act, which was held in the new univerſity of Alcala, inſiſted upon the rector's walking between them, (a prerogative which that univerſity has ever ſince preſerved,) it is plain that this public homage was not paid to the perſon of the rector, but that a great king and a great miniſter intended by this means to inſpire a taſte for learning and the ſciences, which always return the glory with uſury which they receive from princes.

The ſingular privileges which our kings formerly granted to the univerſity of Paris, the mother and model of all others, aroſe from the ſame principle; and the reputation which it has acquired to itſelf and the kingdom throughout the whole Chriſtian world, ſhews that the kings who have been our founders have not been miſtaken in their views, and that all their expectations have been more than fulfilled; and thus it will be in all ages. Arts and ſciences will always flouriſh in the ſtates, where they are honoured; and, in return, they will reflect infinite honour upon the ſtates and princes, who give them encouragement.

I cannot here avoid inſerting a fact which lately happened, and almoſt within our own view; a fact which deſerves to be celebrated in all languages, and inſcribed

[d] Hiſt. de Ximen. par M. Fléchier, lib. vi.

inſcribed in ſhining characters in all records of literature. It is what paſſed in England at the interment of the famous Sir Iſaac Newton, the Archimedes of our age, both for the ſublimity of his reaſonings in theory, and the force of his induſtrious and inventive genius in practice. I ſhall only tranſcribe what is ſaid upon this ſubject in the beautiful panegyric made upon him by M. de Fontenelle, with his uſual eloquence, at the opening of the academy of ſciences in the year 1727.

" His body was expoſed upon a bed of ſtate in the
" Jeruſalem chamber, a place from whence perſons
" of the higheſt rank, and ſometimes crowned heads,
" are carried to their graves. He was conveyed thence
" into Weſtminſter Abbey, the pall being ſupported
" by my Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Montroſe
" and Roxburgh, and the Earls of Pembroke, Suſſex
" and Macclesfield. Theſe ſix Engliſh peers, who
" diſcharged this ſolemn office, give room to judge
" what a number of perſons of diſtinction muſt have
" made up the funeral pomp. The biſhop of Roche-
" ſter read the ſervice, attended by the whole clergy of
" the church. The body was interred near the en-
" trance into the choir. We muſt go back to the an-
" cient Greeks, if we would find examples of a like
" veneration paid to learning. Sir Iſaac Newton's
" family copies ſtill nearer the example of Greece, by
" a monument they are about to erect for him, which
" will coſt a conſiderable ſum. The dean and chap-
" ter of Weſtminſter have allowed it to be raiſed in
" a part of the Abbey, which has often been refu-
" ſed to noblemen of the firſt rank. No country
" or family, though he had choſen them, could have
" expreſſed more gratitude to his memory."

I have no need to aſk pardon for this digreſſion. Whoever has the leaſt regard for the public good and the honour of learning, cannot but be very much affected with this kind of ſolemn homage, which the nobility of a powerful kingdom, as it were in the name of the whole nation, pays to learning and merit.

III.

III. *Of the Measures of Time and Place, and of ancient Coins.*

I add this article not with a design to enter into the discussion of these points, which are generally very difficult, but to give youth a slight knowledge of them, and to lay before them a table of the different sums, which often occur in authors, and which, of themselves, do not present to the mind any clear idea of their value. The elder [e] Pliny says, that Roscius, the most famous actor of his time, gained five hundred thousand sestertia a year. *Apud majores Roscius Histrio* H. S. *quingenta annua meritasse proditur.* We read in [f] Paterculus, that Paulus Æmilius brought two hundred millions of sestertia into the public treasury, *Bis millies centies H. S. ærario contulit.* Youth do not expressly know the value of these sums. The table informs them, at one cast of their eye, that the first sum amounts to six hundred and twenty five thousand livres, and the second to twenty five millions of our money.

I. Measures *of* Time.

The Greeks reckoned by Olympiads, every one of which contains the space of four whole years. These Olympiads took their name from the Olympic games, which were celebrated in Peloponnesus, near the city of Pisa, otherwise called Olympia. The first Olympiad, in which Chorœbus carried the prize, began, according to Usher, in the summer of the year of the world 3228.

According to the same Usher, Rome was built a little before the beginning of the eighth Olympiad, in the year of the world 3256, at the time that the great empire of the Assyrians was destroyed by the death of their last King Sardanapalus, when Jotham reigned at Jerusalem, and consequently in the

[e] Lib. vii. cap. 39. [f] Lib. i. cap. 9.

days of Iſaiah. From the foundation of Rome to the battle of Actium, are reckoned ſeven hundred and twenty three years.

II. Measures *of* Roads.

A point is the ſmalleſt part that can be deſcribed.
Two points make a line.
Twelve lines make an inch.
Twelve inches make a foot.
Two foot and a half make the common pace.
Two common paces, or five foot, make the geometrical pace.

This being ſuppoſed, the moſt noted itinerary meaſure ſtands thus.

The *ſtadium* was peculiar to the Greeks, and conſiſted of a hundred and twenty five geometrical paces; and conſequently, twenty of them muſt go to a common French league, which conſiſts of two thouſand five hundred paces.

The *mile*, among the Romans, conſiſts of eight *ſtadia*, or a thouſand geometrical paces; ſomewhat leſs than half a league.

The *league* of the ancient Gauls, is one thouſand five hundred paces.

The *paraſanga* of the Perſians is ordinarily thirty *ſtadia*, that is a league and an half. Some of them from twenty to ſixty *ſtadia*.

The moſt common *ſchœnos* of the Ægyptians is forty *ſtadia*, or two leagues. There are of them from twenty to a hundred and twenty *ſtadia*.

The common *league* of France is two thouſand five hundred paces. The ſmall one two thouſand paces, and the great one three thouſand. When we mention the leagues of France, we uſually underſtand the common ones.

III.

III. *Of* Ancient Coins.

The *Attic drachma*, which answers to the Roman penny, must serve us for a rule whereby to know the value of all the other coins. M. de Tillemont makes it amount to twelve *sols* of French money; F. Lamy to near eight, and M. Dacier to ten. I shall adhere to this last opinion, without enquiring into the reason of these differences, only because this manner of reckoning is the most easy, and, consequently, most proper for young people. I here fix the French mark at seven and twenty livres, which is looked upon by most nations of Europe as the intrinsic value of the silver.

Greek Coins.

The Attic *obolus* is the sixth part of an Attic *drachma*.

The Attic *drachma* contains six *oboli*. It answers to the Roman penny, and is worth six French *sols*.

The Attic *mina* is equivalent to an hundred drachmas, and consequently fifty French livres.

The Attic talent is equivalent to sixty *minæ*, and is consequently three thousand French livres.

Myriad is a Greek word which signifies ten thousand. Thus a myriad of drachmas signifies ten thousand drachmas, and is of equal value with five thousand livres.

The Attic *stater* was a golden coin that weighed two drachmas, equal in value to twenty drachmas of silver, and consequently to ten livres of France. The *daric*, a golden coin of the Persians, and that which bore the name of Philip King of Macedon. *Philippei* were of the same value with the Attic stater.

The *sikle* or *shekel*, an Hebrew coin, was equivalent to four Attic drachmas, or forty *sols*.

Roman Coins.

The Roman *as*, called otherwiſe *libra* or *pondo*, was originally the tenth part of the Roman penny, or *denarius*.

The *ſmall ſeſterce*, *ſeſtertius* or *nummus*, was the fourth part of the Roman penny, and equivalent to two French *ſols* and an half. It was at firſt marked thus L-L-S, as being equal in value to two *aſſes*, or two pound and a half; *ſeſtertius* is for *ſemiſtertius*, or three lacking a half. At length the ſcribes put an H inſtead of the L-L, and marked the ſeſterce thus, HS.

The *denarius* or *penny*, was a ſmall piece of ſilvea, equal in value to ten *aſſes*, four *ſeſterces*, and conſequently ten French *ſols*.

The *great ſeſterce*, or *ſeſtertium* in the neuter, ſignifies a ſum of equal value with a thouſand ſmall ſeſterces, two hundred and fifty Roman pence, and a hundred and twenty five French livres.

This laſt ſum was differently reckoned. *Decem ſeſtertia*, ten great ſeſterces, or ten thouſand ſmall ones. *Centena millia* HS. *ſive nummûma*, hundred thouſand ſmall ſeſterces. By the adverb *decies ſeſtertiûm*, was here underſtood *centies*; it was therefore a thouſand great ſeſterces, or a million ſmall ones; or *decies centena*, underſtanding ſeſtertia; or *decies* alone in ſhort, and underſtanding *centies ſeſtertiûm*, or *centena ſeſtertia*.

The name of the golden coin was *aureus* or *ſolidus*, and is generally judged by authors to amount in value to twenty five ſilver pence.

The proportion of gold to ſilver has been different at all times. We may keep to that of ten to one for our reckoning in antiquity. Thus a talent of ſilver amounted to three thouſand livres, a talent of gold to thirty thouſand. The proportion of gold to ſilver, at preſent, is near fifteen to one.

Roman Numbers.

I.	1.
V.	5.
X.	10.
L.	50.
C.	100.
IↃ	500.
CIↃ	1000.
IↃↃ	5000.
CCIↃↃ	10000.
IↃↃↃ	50000.
CCCIↃↃↃ	100000.

A Table of the Value of the Greek *Money.*

Myriads.

1 Myriad of Attic drachmas	5000 *liv.*
2 myriads	10,000 *liv.*
3 myriads	15,000 *liv.*
4 myriads	20,000 *liv.*
5 myriads	25,000 *liv.*
10 myriads	50,000 *liv.*
20 myriads	100,000 *liv.*
50 myriads	250,000 *liv.*
100 myriads	500,000 *liv.*
200 myriads	1,000,000 *liv.*
1000 myriads	5,000,000 *liv.*

Talents.

1 Talent	3000 *liv.*
2 talents	6000 *liv.*
5 talents	15,000 *liv.*
10 talents	30,000 *liv.*
50 talents	150,000 *liv.*
100 talents	300,000 *liv.*
	500 talents

500 talents	1,500,000 *liv.*
1000 talents	3,000,000 *liv.*
5000 talents	15,000,000 *liv.*
10,000 talents	30,000,000 *liv.*
20,000 talents	60,000,000 *liv.*
50,000 talents	150,000,000 *liv.*
100,000 talents	300,000,000 *liv.*

A Table of the Value of the ROMAN *Money.*

As.

Millia ſingula æris, or 1000 aſſes	50 *liv.*
Duo millia æris	100 *liv.*
Quatuor millia æris	200 *liv.*
5 millia æris	250 *liv.*
10 millia æris	500 *liv.*
20 millia æris	1000 *liv.*
50 millia æris	2500 *liv.*
100 millia æris	5000 *liv.*
500 millia æris	25,000 *liv.*
1000 millia æris millies	50,000 *liv.*
10,000 millia æris decies millies	500,000 *liv.*
20,000 millia æris vigeſies millies	1,000,000 *liv.*
100,000 millia æris centies millies.	5,000,000 *liv.*

SESTERTIUS.

1 Seſtertius, ſive nummus	2 *ſols and half*
8 ſeſtertii, ſive nummi	1 *liv.*
24 ſeſtertii	3 *liv.*
80 ſeſtertii	10 *liv.*
100 ſeſtertii	12 *liv.* 10 *ſols*
200 ſeſtertii	25 *liv.*
400 ſeſtertii	50 *liv.*

800 ſeſtertii

800 seſtertii	100 *liv.*
1000 seſtertii	125 *liv.*
4000 seſtertii	500 *liv.*
8000 seſtertii	1000 *liv.*
80,000 seſtertii	10,000 *liv.*
100,000, vel centena millia HS. ſeu nummûm	12,500 *liv.*
200,000, vel bis centena millia HS.	25,000 *liv.*
500,000, vel quingenta millia HS.	62,500 *liv.*
1,000,000, vel decies centena HS.	125,000 *liv.*
Quindecies centena millia HS.	187,500 *liv.*
Vicies centena millia HS.	250,000 *liv.*
Quinquagies centena millia HS.	625,000 *liv.*
Centies centena millia HS. *or* 10,000,000 of ſeſterces	1,250,000 *liv.*
Quingenties centena millia HS. *or* 50,000,000 of ſeſterces	6,250,000 *liv.*
Millies centena millia HS. *or* 100,000,000 of ſeſterces	12,500,000 *liv.*
Bis millies centena millia HS. *or* 200,000,000 of ſeſterces	25 millions.
Decies milles centena millia HS. *or* 1,000,000,000 of ſeſterces	125 millions.
Vicies millies centena millia HS. *or* 2,000,000,000 of ſeſterces	250 millions.
Quadragies millies centena millia HS. *or* 4,000,000,000 of ſeſterces	500 millions.
Quadragies quater millies centena millia HS. *or* 4,400,000,000 of ſeſterces	550 millions.
Quadragies octies millies centena millia HS. *or* 4,800,000,000 of ſeſterces	600 millions.
Quinquagies ſexies millies centena millia HS. *or* 5,600,000,000 of ſeſterces	700 millions.
Sexagies quater millies centena millia HS. *or* 6,400,000,000 of ſeſterces	800 millions.

Septuagies

Septuagies bis millies centena millia HS. *or* 7,200,000,000 of ſeſterces	900 millions.
Octuagies millies centena millia HS. *or* 8,000,000,000 of ſeſterces	1000 millions.
Centies millies centena millia HS. *or* 10,000,000,000 of ſeſterces	1250 millions.

SESTERTIUM.

1 Seſtertium	250 drachmæ	125 *liv.*
2 ſeſtertia	500 dr.	250 *liv.*
4 ſeſtertia	1000 dr.	500 *liv.*
10 ſeſtertia	2500 dr.	1250 *liv.*
20 ſeſtertia	5000 dr.	2500 *liv.*
50 ſeſtertia	12,500 dr.	6250 *liv.*
100 ſeſtertia	25,000 dr.	12,500 *liv.*

1000 ſeſtertia, or *decies ſeſtertiûm* is the ſame thing as *decies centena millia HS.* mentioned above, and ſo of the following numbers.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

Of PHILOSOPHY.

SHOULD I undertake to treat philoſophy in all its extent, I might apply myſelf to the boys, for whom I write, in the words which Tully puts into the mouth of Anthony, who was once prevailed upon to talk of rhetoric againſt his inclination. "Hear, ſ ſaid he, hear a man that is going to in- "ſtruct you in what he has never learnt himſelf." There would be only this difference in the caſe, that Anthony's ignorance was feigned and counterfeit, whereas mine is actual and true, having never applied myſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy, but very ſuperficially, for which I have often had cauſe to repent. Though perhaps, if I had ſtudied it under as ſkilful maſters as have ſince been in the univerſity, and are now there in great number, I might have had as much taſte for it as for the ſtudy of polite learning, to which alone I have given up all my time. But however I am enough acquainted with the uſefulneſs and great advantages deducible from it, to exhort youth not to fail in giving all the application they poſſibly can to ſo important a ſcience. It is to this particular I ſhall confine myſelf in this ſmall diſſertation, which ſhall not be a treatiſe of philoſophy, but a bare exhortation to the boys to ſtudy it with care.

Though we had nothing more than eloquence in view, this ſtudy would be abſolutely neceſſary, as Tully declares in more than one place; and he makes no ſcruple to own, that what progreſs he had made in the art of ſpeaking, was leſs owing to the precepts of the rhetoricians than the leſſons of the philo-

ſ Audite verò, audite, inquit, hominem, &c. Docebo vos, diſcipuli, id quod ipſe non didici, quid de omni genere dicendi ſentiam. Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 28, 29.

philosophers. [h] *Fateor me oratorem, si modo sim, non ex rhetorum officinis, sed ex academiæ spatiis extitisse.* But the usefulness of philosophy is far from being confined to eloquence; it extends to all the conditions and every season of life.

In short, this study, when properly directed and carefully pursued, may contribute very much to regulate the manners, to perfect reason and judgment, to adorn the mind with an infinity of learned notions equally useful and curious, and what I think far more valuable, to inspire the boys with a great reverence for religion, and fortify them by solid principles against the false and dangerous arguments of infidelity, which are every day gaining ground upon us.

ARTICLE the FIRST.

Philosophy may be very serviceable in regulating the Manners.

ONE of the most effectual methods for regulating the conduct of man, is to make him acquainted with what he is, upon what conditions he received his being, what obligations and duties he lies under, whither he ought to tend, and for what end he was created. Now this is the subject of philosophy; I say, even of the Pagan philosophy; and in my opinion its instructions upon all these points, though imperfect and often intermixed with obscurity, ought to have a great weight upon every reasonable mind.

Man came out of the hand of God, not only the most excellent of his works, but the most perfect image of himself. He bears some resemblance in every thing about him to the nobleness of his extraction, and bears the lines and characters of his original in a manner imprinted in his nature.

With

[h] Orat. n. 12.

With regard to the soul, an insatiable desire of learning, a penetration and sagacity that extends to every thing, a desire of happiness which nothing limited can satisfy, the lively sense of a liberty to which every thing is indifferent, except [i] one sole object, the thorough conviction of its being designed for immortality; all these, and a great many other circumstances, shew clearly how great man is, and [k] how he cannot ('tis Tully who speaks thus), if we may be allowed the expression, be compared to any thing but God himself.

If we consider only the [l] structure of his body, it is plain that nothing but the hand of God could possibly form so perfect a work, dispose it with so much order, so much beauty, such connection and proportion between all the parts which compose it, [m] so as to make it a proper abode for the master that inhabits it. And we see that Seneca had reason to say, man was not a precipitate and hasty performance, but the master-piece of the divine wisdom, [n] *scias non esse hominem tumultuarium et incogitatum opus.*

First duty of man with regard to the Divinity.

Now with what design was he framed? We will answer in a word [o]; God made the whole world for man, and man for himself; that by him nature, otherwise dumb and stupid, might become in a manner eloquent and grateful towards its Creator; and that man placed in the midst of the creatures, who were all designed for his use and service, might lend them

[i] Good, in the general acceptation of the word, and the supreme good evidently known.

[k] Animus humanus, decerptus ex mente divina, cum alio nullo, nisi cum ipso Deo, si hoc fas est dictu, comparari potest. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. n. 38.

[l] We may read in Tully, lib. 2. de nat. Deor. n. 133, 153. and in M. de Fénelon's Lettres sur la religion, pag. 163. the admirable description they give of the several parts of the body, and their respective functions.

[m] Figuram corporis habilem et aptam ingenio humano dedit. Lib. 1. de Leg. n. 26.

[n] Lib. 6. de benef. cap. 23.

[o] Omnia quæ sunt in hoc mundo, quibus utuntur homines, hominum causa facta sunt et parta. Lib. 2. de nat. Deor. n. 154.

them his voice, his understanding and admiration, and be in a manner the priest of all nature. How many benefits in short has it pleased God to confer upon man? Not content with providing for his necessities, his care and tenderness have supplied him even with what ministers to pleasure and delight, [p] *Neque enim necessitatibus tantummodo nostris provisum est, usque in delicias amamur.* [q] What variety of trees, herbs, and excellent fruits for the different seasons of the year? What an immense number of animals are industriously supplied by the air, earth and sea? There is no part of nature which does not pay a tribute to man, that man in his turn may pay the author of all these benefits the due homage of gratitude and praise, which is the principal part of the worship we owe to the deity, and the most essential duty of the creature. Nor must ingratitude be allowed to say, that it is nature supplies us with all these blessings, unless by this word which has usually no distinct idea affixed to it, we are to understand only the Divinity himself, which moves every thing, produces every thing, shews himself to us in every thing, and makes himself known to us every moment by his benefits and bounty. [r] *Quocunque te flexeris, ibi illum videbis occurrentem tibi. Nihil ab illo vacat. Ergo nihil agis, ingratissime mortalium, qui te negas Deo debere, sed naturæ .... Quid enim aliud est natura, quam Deus?*

If man, says [s] Ephesus, had any sense of honour and gratitude, all that he sees in nature, all that he experiences in himself, would be to him a continual subject of gratitude, praise and thanksgiving. The herb

Epictetus

[p] Senec. de benef. lib. 4. c. 5.

[q] Tot arbusta non uno modo frugifera, tot herbæ salutares, tot varietates ciborum per totum annum digestæ, ut inerti quoque for tuita terræ alimenta præberent. Jam animalia omnis generis, ali in sicco solidoque, alia in humido nascentia, alia per sublime dimi sa; ut omnis rerum naturæ pars tributum nobis aliquod conferret Senec. de benef. lib. 4. cap. 5.

[r] Senec. de benef. lib. 4. cap. 7.

[s] Arrian. Epict. lib. 1. c. 16. Epictetus was a Stoic philosopher who lived in the first century. He was the slave of Epaphroditus a captain of Nero's guards.

herb of the field, which supplies the animals with milk for his nourishment, the wool of those animals which furnishes him with clothes, ought to fill him with admiration. When he sees the clods of earth crushed and broken to pieces by the plough-share, and a long ridge thrown up for the reception of the seed, he ought to cry out, how great is God, how good, in having procured for us all the instruments proper for tillage? When he sits down to table to eat, every thing should recal God to his mind, and renew his gratitude. It is he, he should say, who has given me hands to take up my food, teeth to break and grind it, a stomach to digest it; and what is the subject of praises which more nearly concern me, it is he who, to all the benefits he confers upon me, adds besides the inestimable advantage of knowing the author of them, and making such use of them, as is conformable to his will. As then, continues the same Epictetus, all mankind are plunged into a deep lethargy concerning Providence, is it not just that some one, in the name of all the rest, should publickly sing hymns and songs to its honour? What else can such a weak and [t] lame old man, as I am, do, than celebrate the divine praises? [u] Were I a swan or a nightingale, I would sing, because that would be the end for which I was created. But as reason has fallen to my lot, I ought to employ myself in praising God. It is my proper function and business, which I will regularly discharge, and never cease to discharge to my latest breath; and I would advise you to do so likewise. One would imagine it was a christian that was here speaking, and not a Stoic philosopher.

[t] One day as his master, who was very passionate, gave him a violent blow upon the leg, he coldly bid him take care, or he would break it. And the master repeating his blows in such a manner as to break it indeed, Epictetus, without any emotion, continued, Did not I tell you, that if you went on thus, you would break my leg? He reduced all philosophy to the two points of bearing and forbearing. Ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου.

[u] Εἰ οὖν ἀηδὼν ἦμην ἐπιὼν τὰ τῆς ἀηδόνος· εἰ κύκνος, τὰ τοῦ κύκνου. Νῦν δὲ λογικὸς εἰμι· ὑμνεῖν με δεῖ τὸν Θεόν.

Second duty of man with regard to himself. Besides this principal duty, which is the foundation of religion, man has another, which is by his virtues to represent and imitate the Deity, of whom he is the living and animated imge. [x] How little soever he examines himself, he may discern the precious lines of it, and the impression stamp'd upon his soul, which is in a manner the temple of God, and this should lead him to make the dignity of his sentiments correspond with the dignity of his origin. From thence arise those natural ideas and primitive notions which we bear about us of good and evil, just and unjust, virtue and vice; [y] notions common to all mankind, who without any agreement amongst themselves, alike annex the idea of turpitude to vice, and glory to virtue; for there is no nation which does not love and esteem those, who are of a mild, humane, obliging character; and which on the other hand does not despise and hate such persons as are of a cruel, ungrateful, haughty disposition, who take a pleasure in doing ill. Thence also arises the inward [z] testimony and secret voice of conscience, which makes the just enjoy peace in the midst of the greatest afflictions, and creates the wicked such cruel torments in the very bosom of the greatest joy and most sensible pleasures, and which prescribes to both the rules they ought to follow, and the duties they ought to fulfil.

[a] These rules and laws are not arbitrary and dependent upon the fancies of men; they are imprinted in

[x] Qui se ipse norit, aliquid sentiet se habere divinum, ingeniumque in se suum sicut simulacrum aliquod dedicatum putabit: tantoque munere deorum semper dignum aliquid et faciet et sentiet. Cic. lib. 1. de leg. n. 59.

[y] Communis intelligentia nobis notas res efficit, easque in animis nostris inchoavit, ut honesta in virtute ponantur, in vitiis turpia.... Quæ natio non comitatem, non benignitatem, non gratum animum et beneficii memorem diligit? Quæ superbos, quæ maleficos, quæ crudeles, quæ ingratos non aspernatur et odit? Lib. 1. de leg. n. 44 & 32.

[z] Magna vis est conscientiæ in utramque partem: ut neque timeant qui nihil commiserunt, et pœnam semper ante oculos versari putent qui peccaverunt. Cic. pro Mil. n. 63.

[a] Hanc video sapientissimorum hominum fuisse sententiam: Legem neque hominum ingeniis excogitatam, neque scitum aliquod esse populorum,

in the substance of the soul, by the Creator; they existed before all ages, and are of greater antiquity than the world, as they are an emanation of the Divine Wisdom, which cannot think otherwise of virtue and vice. They are the model and original of human laws, which in a manner cease to be, as soon as they swerve from this primitive type of justice and truth, which all lawgivers should propose to follow in all their institutions.

These first notions of good and evil may be weakened and obscured by a bad education, by the torrent of example, by the violence of passions, and above all, by the dangerous attractions of pleasure, which spoils and corrupts our minds by false delights, which it lays before us, that we do not find in the practice of virtue. But there is constantly left within us an inward sense of these primitive truths, and it is the business of philosophy to rekindle these precious sparks by its salutary instructions, to remove all errors from us, by giving us a nearer view of the first principles, to cure us of popular opinions and prejudices, to make us understand [a] that we are born for justice and virtue, to convince us by sensible and evident proofs, [b] that there is a Providence which governs and presides over all, and which takes care, not only of the world in general,

pulorum, sed æternum quiddam, quod universum mundum regeret imperandi prohibendique sapientia. . . . Quæ vis non modò senior est quàm ætas populorum et civitatum, sed æqualis illius cœlum atque terras tuentis et regentis Dei. Neque enim esse mens divina sine ratione potest: nec ratio divina non hanc vim in rectis pravisque sanciendis habere. . . . Quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad jubendum et ad vitandum, ratio est recta summi Jovis. . . . Ergo est lex justorum injustorumque distinctio, ad illam antiquissimam et rerum omnium principem expressa naturam, ad quam lege hominum diriguntur, quæ supplicio improbos afficiunt, et defendunt et tuentur bonos. Cic. lib. iii. de leg. n. 8. 13.

[a] Nos ad justitiam esse natos, neque opinione, sed natura constitutum esse jus. Lib. i. de leg. n. 28.

[b] Dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores deos, eaque quæ gerantur, eorum geri judicio ac numine. (Neque universo generi hominum solùm, sed etiam singulis à Diis immortalibus consuli et provideri. Lib. ii. de nat. Deor. n. 64.) Eosdem qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, qua mente, qua pietate religiones colat, intuer; piorumque et impiorum habere rationem. His enim rebus imbutæ mentes, haud sanè abhorrebunt ab utili et à vera sententia. Lib. ii. de leg. n. 15.

but of every man in particular; that nothing escapes its all-seeing eyes, and that God knows thoroughly all our actions, and sees our most secret thoughts and intentions; for such a conviction is very proper to inspire us with respect for the Deity, and love for virtue.

Third duty of man in regard to society.

Though a man were alone upon earth, he would be always bound to observe the two sorts of duties, which I have now spoken of, that is, he ought always to honour the Divinity, and pay a regard to himself, by living in a wise and regular manner; [c] but he is under other obligations with relation to the common society, whereof he is a member. God is the common father of a great family, and all men are his children, united by the bond of humanity, formed for one another, and consequently obliged to promote the public good, and mutually assist each other by all good offices. Thus man should not limit his views or his zeal to the particular place where he was born, [d] but look upon himself as a citizen of the whole world, which in this sense is but a single city.

[c] It is true, this general society, which at first takes in the whole race of mankind, afterwards divides itself by degrees into other less extensive societies, betwixt men of the same city and the same family, and from thence arise the different duties of civil society with regard to friends, allies, relations, parents and country; but they have all their origin in the first principle we have laid down, which is, that man, according to the views and appointment of God, is born for man.

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[c] Quoniam (ut præclare scriptum est à Platone) non nobis solùm nati sumus, ortusque nostri partem patria vindicat, partem parentes, partem amici; hominesque hominum causa generati sunt, ut ipsi inter se alius alii prodesse possint: in hoc naturam debemus ducem sequi; et communes utilitates in medium afferre mutatione officiorum. Lib. i. de Off. n. 22.

[d] Universus hic mundus, una civitas communis hominum existimanda. De leg. lib. i. n. 23. ——Socrates quidem, cum rogaretur Cujatem se esset diceret, Mundanum inquit: totius enim mundi se incolam et civem arbitrabatur. Lib. v. Tusc. Quæst n. 108.

[e] Gradus plures sunt societatis hominum. . . . Ab illa enim immensa societate generis humani, in exiguum angustumque concluditur. Lib. i. de Off. n. 53.

This is a small abridgment of the maxims of morality, which Paganism supplies us with, and these principles it must be owned are great, solid, and evident; but they do not extend so far as they ought, and as perfect as they appear, they leave us on the way without shewing us either the motive that should sanctify our actions, or the end we should propose to ourselves in them. 'Tis the holy scripture alone, which gives us a clear and certain notion of man, by discovering to us the advantages of his first origin; his fall into sin, and the fatal consequences of that fall; his restoration by a Redeemer; his different duties with regard to God, his neighbour, and himself; the end he ought to have in view, and the means of conducting him to it; and a Christian philosopher will not fail to instruct his scholars in all these truths. But in my opinion it is no small advantage to point out to them in Paganism itself, the rules of such refined morality, and the principles of so sublime a conduct, which invincibly prove, that virtue is not an empty name, as the libertines would persuade themselves, nor the duties of religion and of civil life mere human establishments, politically invented to lay a restraint upon the multitude; but that all these duties, all these obligations, and all these laws, are included in the very nature of man, and a necessary consequence of God's designs towards him.

'Tis for this reason I look upon it as a very useful custom to make the youth, who study philosophy, read from time to time select passages out of the philosophical books of Tully, and especially from those where he treats of offices and laws.

Besides this advantage, they will find there wherewithal to improve the taste of polite learning, which they have acquired in the preceding classes; and it may also be of great use to masters themselves, by teaching them to write Latin in a pure, neat and elegant manner, proper for the treating philosophical subjects, which is a matter of no small consequence to their profession.

ARTICLE the SECOND.

Philosophy may very much contribute to the Perfection of Reason.

OF all the natural gifts which man has received from God, reason is the most excellent; that which distinguishes him most from other animals, and which displays in him the brightest lines of his resemblance to God. By reason he has the idea of what is beautiful, great, just and true, he decides and judges concerning the properties of every thing, he compares several objects together, deduces consequences from principles, makes use of one truth to come at another; and lastly, by reason he gives order and connexion to his notions and reasonings, which diffuse a light and grace through them, which render them far more intelligible, and discover more fully their whole force and truth. The importance of a science which aids and assists the mind in all these operations, is easily conceived.

We find excellent reflections upon this subject, in the first discourse prefixed to the art of thinking. I shall make use of them here, as knowing nothing more proper to give youth a just esteem and taste for philosophy, or more capable of explaining to them all the advantages, and even necessities of it.

There is nothing, says the author of this logic, more valuable than good sense, and rectitude of mind in discerning truth and falsehood. All the other qualities of the mind are limited in their use, but exactness of reason is universally useful, in all parts and in all the employments of life. It is not only difficult in the sciences to distinguish truth from error, but also in most of the subjects that men

[f] In homine optimum quid est? ratio. Hac antecessit animalia Ratio perfecta, proprium hominis bonum est: cætera illi cum animalibus satisque communia. Senec. Epist. 76.

men ſpeak of, and the affairs of which they treat. There are almoſt univerſally different paths, ſome true, and others falſe, and it is the buſineſs of reaſon to make the choice. Thoſe who chuſe well have a right underſtanding, and thoſe who chuſe amiſs have a wrong one; and this is the firſt and moſt important difference that we can make betwixt the qualities of the human mind.

Thus our principal application ſhould be to form the judgment, and render it as exact as may be; and it is to this end the greateſt part of our ſtudy ſhould be directed. We make uſe of reaſon as an inſtrument to acquire the ſciences; and, on the other hand, we ſhould make uſe of the ſciences as an inſtrument to bring our reaſon to perfection; a right mind being far more conſiderable than all the branches of ſpeculative knowledge we are capable of obtaining, by means of the moſt true and ſolid ſciences.——Men are not born to ſpend their time in meaſuring of lines, in examining the proportion of angles, or conſidering the different motions of matter. Their underſtanding is too great, their life too ſhort, their time too precious to be employed upon ſuch trivial objects. But they are obliged to be juſt, equitable and judicious in all their diſcourſe, in all their actions, and in all the affairs they undertake, and for this they ſhould principally exerciſe and form themſelves.

This care and ſtudy is ſo much the more neceſſary, as it is ſurpriſing how ſeldom we meet with this exactneſs of judgment. We ſcarce meet with any but wrong minds, that have very little diſcernment of truth, take all things by a falſe bias, that pay themſelves with very bad reaſons, and would put them off upon others as current, ſuffer themſelves to be carried away by the ſlighteſt appearances, and are always in exceſs; who boldly decide concerning matters they are ignorant of and do not underſtand; and who adhere to their own opinions with ſuch inflexible obſtinacy, that they will hearken to no body that can undeceive them.

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This ill turn of mind is not only the cause of errors in the sciences, but also of most part of the faults which are committed in civil life; unjust quarrels, suits of law ill grounded, rash advice, and ill concerted enterprizes. There are few of these which have not their source in some error, and some fault of judgment. So that there is no defect which we are more nearly concerned to correct.

A great part of the false judgments of mankind are caused by precipitation of mind, and through want of attention; so that a rash judgment is passed upon what we know but confusedly and obscurely. The small regard which men have for truth, makes them often careless about distinguishing what is true from what is false. They suffer all sorts of discourse and maxims to enter into their minds, chuse rather to take them for true than to examine them. If they do not understand them, they are willing to believe that others do; and thus they burthen their memory with abundance of false and obscure things not understood, and reason upon those principles, almost without considering what they say or what they think. Vanity and presumption very much contribute to this fault. They think it a shame to doubt and be ignorant, and chuse rather to talk and decide at random, than to own that they are not sufficiently informed in the points in debate, to pass a judgment upon them. We all abound in ignorance and error, and yet there is no difficulty so great as to prevail upon any one to own himself mistaken, though the acknowledgment be so just and so agreeable to our natural condition.

There are others, on the contrary, who, having understanding enough to know that many things are obscure and uncertain, and being willing to shew, by another kind of vanity, that they are not carried away by popular credulity, place their glory in maintaining that there is nothing certain. Thus they get rid of the trouble of examining them, and upon this bad principle call in question the most received

ceived truths and religion itself. This is the source of Pyrrhonism, which is another extravagance of human understanding, and though it seems opposite to the rashness of those who give credit to every thing, and decide upon every thing, yet it proceeds notwithstanding from the same source, which is the want of attention. For as the one will not give themselves the trouble to find out error, so the others will not take the pains to discover truth with the care that is necessary to discern the evidence of it. The least glimmering of light is sufficient for the one to make them believe extravagant falshoods, and suffices to the other to make them doubt of the most certain facts. But both in the one and the other, these very different effects arise from the same want of application.

Right reason places all things in the rank that properly belongs to them; it doubts concerning such as are doubtful, rejects such as are false, and sincerely acknowledges such as are evident.

To these reflections extracted from the art of thinking, I shall add one from M. L'Abbe Fleury.

All the world, says he in his treatise of study, see the usefulness of reasoning justly; I mean not only in the sciences, but in business and the whole conduct of life. But many perhaps do not see the necessity of recurring to the first principles, because, in reality, there are few who do it. The most part of mankind reason only in a narrow compass, from one principle, which the authority of others, or their own passion, has imprinted in their minds, to the necessary means for acquiring what they desire. I must first grow rich, then I will engage in such an employment, I will take such a step, I will suffer this and that; and so of the rest. But what shall I do with my substance when I have got it, or is it an advantage to me to be rich? these are points which are not enquired into.

The man of real learning, the true philosopher, goes much farther, and begins a great deal higher. He neither stops at the authority of others, nor his

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own prejudices, he ſtill proceeds, till he has found out a principle of natural light, and ſo clear a truth, that he can no longer call it in queſtion. But then, when he has once diſcovered it, he boldly deduces all the conſequences that flow from it, and never ſwerves from them; and thence it follows, that he is ſtedfaſt in his doctrine and conduct, inflexible in his reſolutions, patient in the execution, even in his temper, and conſtant in virtue.

It is plain enough of what importance it is to fortify, with early impreſſions, the minds of youth, by ſuch principles, againſt the falſe judgments and falſe reaſonings which occur ſo commonly in the diſcourſe and conduct of mankind; and this is the effect of philoſophy, whoſe principal end, as I have already obſerved, is to give perfection to reaſon.

I am very ſenſible, that reaſon is a natural gift, that it proceeds not from art, and cannot be the pure effect of labour; but art and labour may improve it, direct it, and carry it to perfection. We now find in performances of wit, in diſcourſes from the pulpit and at the bar, in treatiſes relating to ſcience, an order, exactneſs, proportion and ſolidity, which were not formerly ſo common. Several are of opinion, and upon good grounds, that we owe this manner of thinking and writing to the extraordinary progreſs which has been made for an age paſt in the ſtudy of philoſophy.

When I ſay that philoſophy is very uſeful towards bringing reaſon to perfection, I would not be underſtood to ſpeak only of the rules which logic in particular lays down upon this ſubject. They are very uſeful in themſelves, not only as they ſerve to diſcover the defect of certain perplexed arguments, but as they aſſiſt us in tracing the ſource of moſt part of the errors which creep into our thoughts and reaſonings. The ſame may be ſaid of the rules of rhetoric. It cannot be denied but that they are a very great help to eloquence; but it is principally in the application made of them to the diſcourſes of the ancients and moderns, whoſe beauties and faults

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are explained to youth, by the conformity or opposition they bear to these precepts.

The same thing may be said of the rules of logic. Their principal usefulness consists in the application of them to the several questions we examine, and the reasonings we make upon any subject whatsoever.

As the minds of youth, when they enter upon philosophy, are generally not much formed, they are first put upon such matters as are easy, intelligible, and within the reach of their capacity. The manner of reasoning by syllogisms, which appears to some persons long and tedious, is absolutely necessary, especially in the beginning, and the pupils will remain dumb, and in a manner stupid, if they were put upon talking otherwise.

They should be made to observe, in what manner sometimes the omission of a word, the change of a term, a double meaning, an equivocal expression, render an argument faulty.

They are taught to keep close to their principles, to reduce every thing to them, never to depart from them, and to give a solution of the difficulties that are urged against them.

By this daily exercise and continual application of rules, their mind is enlarged and improved by degrees, daily unfolds itself more and more, is accustomed to discover where the falsehood lies, acquires a facility of expression, and becomes capable of discussing the most difficult and abstruse questions. I have been astonished, when I assisted at the exercises of philosophy, to see the sensible change made in the scholars every quarter; their reason was so much improved, that by the end of the course they could not be known for the same persons. This is the common effect in the classes of philosophy, when the scholars want neither capacity nor application; and the great advantages they derive from this study, are not to be expressed.

The sudden change from the study of polite learning to philosophy, that is, from an agreeable

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country, where all is gay and smiling, and covered over with flowers, to a region usually dry, thorny, and craggy, give sometimes a shock to youth; and it is for this reason, as I have already insinuated, that I could wish that the latinity of their sheets was as pure and elegant as that of the philosophical works of Tully. But this very inconvenience shews how necessary the study of philosophy is. Nothing is more contrary to the solidity of the mind, as well as the health of the body, than perpetual pleasures. By this means, both the one and the other contract a weakness and effeminacy, which makes them incapable of taking pains. To have nothing but what is pleasing and agreeable in view, is like living constantly upon milk, and being always in the state of infancy.

Truth may present itself to us under two faces. Sometimes it shews itself under all the pomp and splendor of eloquence, and has a just claim to all its ornaments, which are proper attendants upon it. It likewise often appears in a plain dress, under a very mean outside, without any guard or attendance; and this last appearance suits best with its natural character. In the first case, a good judgment consists in separating truth from the ornaments which surround it, and may be common to it and falshood; and in the second, in not being offended at the meanness of its outside show, which is even sometimes disagreeable, but to view it thoroughly in itself, and to place all the value upon it which it deserves.

Masters do youth this double service. Those who teach them polite learning and eloquence, inure them by times, and from their admission into the first class, to weigh reasons more than words principally to discern truth, to strip the argument of all the ornaments which they borrow from eloquence, in order to be more sensible of their force or weakness, and not to suffer themselves to be carried away by a delusive glow of words and figures

gures, which are often void of ſenſe and matter. The philoſophers, on their ſide, chiefly endeavour to make their diſciples attentive to truth conſidered in itſelf, to lay down certain rules to guide them in diſcerning it, to accuſtom them to a great juſtneſs and exactneſs in all their reaſonings, and to inſpire them, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, with a certain taſte and notion of truth, which may direct them to diſcover it wherever it is to be found, and at the ſame time enable them to reject what has no more than an outward appearance of it.

Another inconvenience, alſo very prejudicial to mankind, not only in the ſtudy of the ſciences, but alſo in the ordinary conduct and different employments of life, is the not being able to give a juſt attention to ſuch matters as are perplexed and difficult, or to purſue the chain of an argument which is ſomewhat long and intricate, or laſtly, to apply to ſuch ſubjects as are ſubtle, abſtracted, and independent of their ſenſes. This inconvenience is remedied by philoſophy in a wonderful manner, eſpecially by the ſtudy of metaphyſics and mathematics, where the objects being purely ſpiritual, raiſe the ſoul above the conſideration of matter, and free it from the ſlavery wherein the ſenſes ſtrive to retain it.

The author of the art of thinking has not failed to obſerve the two inconveniencies I am ſpeaking of, to ſhew how advantageous it is to be habituated early to the underſtanding of difficult truths. The paſſage is too beautiful not to be inſerted here at full length.

There are, ſays he, ſome ſtomachs which can only digeſt light and delicate food, and there are ſome minds which can only apply themſelves to comprehend eaſy truths, and ſuch as are clothed with the ornaments of eloquence. Both the one and the other is a vicious delicacy, or indeed a real weakneſs. The mind ſhould be rendered capable of diſcovering truth, when hid and concealed, and to reſpect

it under whatever form it appears. If we do not get over that diſguſt, which it is eaſy for all the world to conceive againſt ſuch points as ſeem ſomewhat ſubtle and ſcholaſtic, we inſenſibly ſtraiten the mind, and render it incapable of comprehending what is not to be known but by a chain of ſeveral propoſitions. And thus, when a truth depends on three or four principles, which it is neceſſary to take a view of all at once, we are diſguſted and confuſed, and thereby deprived of the knowledge of ſeveral uſeful circumſtances, which is a very conſiderable defect. The capacity of the mind is extended and enlarged by uſe, and to this end the mathematics, and all knotty and abſtracted queſtions in general, principally conduce; for they give a certain enlargement to the mind, and exerciſe it in a ſtricter application, and cloſer attention to the points it knows.

It is almoſt incredible how ſerviceable this ſort of ſtudy is towards giving youth a ſtrength, exactneſs and penetration of mind, which by degrees lead them to maſter themſelves, and unravel the moſt abſtracted and perplexed queſtions. I have ſeen a cuſtom practiſed in college, always attended with good ſucceſs; but then this was amongſt ſcholars of the beſt capacity. Beſides the ſheets of their claſs, they were made to read, either in public or in private, certain parts of ſome philoſophical diſcourſes, ſuch as the ſix books of F. Malebranche's enquiry after truth, the meditations of Deſcartes, or his principles of natural philoſophy; and after theſe treatiſes had been read with them, and explained to them, they were put upon making extracts and ſummaries, each in their own way, but always with a certain order and method, by firſt giving clearly the ſtate of the queſtion, laying down the principles, giving the different truths upon which they are founded, exactly reciting all the difficulties that may be brought againſt them, and giving the ſolution of them. The maſter then reviſed theſe extracts, and if he found any paſſage which required either re-

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trenchment or addition, to be enlarged or abridged, he observed upon it, and gave his reasons for correcting it.

This method is certainly very capable of teaching the boys order, exactness and penetration, qualities which are very necessary in every employment of life. This will enable them to support a long and laborious examination of any point, without being disgusted, either at the obscurity of the questions, or the multiplicity of the matters they are to discuss, and this will inform them how to fix upon the decisive point in the most intricate matter, never to lose sight of it, to refer all the rest to it, and set the proofs of it in so strong a light, and in such order, as may fully shew the force of them.

Without speaking of a great variety of rare and curious knowledge, taught by philosophy, can we think two years employed in acquiring the talents I have just been speaking of, (and I have known many scholars attain this advantage in that time) lost or misspent? Can any wise or reasonable parents ever repent of having their children instructed in this manner? And if, through a blind and inconsiderate haste, which grows but too common, they abridge the time designed for philosophy, have they not cause to blame themselves for cutting off the part of their studies, (I dare venture to say it, and my known taste for a different kind of learning cannot render me suspected) which is the most important, the most necessary, and most beneficial to boys, and of which the loss can be the least concealed, and is the most irreparable.

I conclude, from what I have said, that such parents as really love their children, ought to make them pass through an entire course of philosophy; to procure them, during that time, all the assistances necessary for their progress and improvement in this study; to engage them, from time to time, to make repetitions in their presence, over which their masters must preside; and especially to declare to them, upon their first entrance on this course, it is their

intention that they ſhall keep publicly all the acts which are uſually kept in philoſophy. This expence is not great upon the footing matters now ſtand in the univerſity, and it cannot be reduced to too great a ſimplicity. But though it were more conſiderable, it is of ſo great importance to their children, and makes ſo notable a difference in their ſtudy, by the indiſpenſable obligation it lays upon them to apply themſelves ſeriouſly to it, that they certainly ought not to ſpare it.

ARTICLES III. and IV.

Philoſophy adorns the Mind with an Infinity of curious Knowledge.

It ſerves alſo to inſpire a great Reſpect for Religion.

I JOIN here theſe two things together, becauſe in reality they are naturally united, and one muſt lead to the other, as will be ſeen by what I have to ſay upon this ſubject.

It is ſurpriſing that man, placed in the midſt of nature, which preſents him with the greateſt ſpectacle it is poſſible to imagine, and ſurrounded on all ſides with an infinity of wonders made for him, ſhould ſcarce ever think either of conſidering theſe wonders which are ſo deſerving of his attention and curioſity, or of taking a view of himſelf. He lives in the midſt of a world, of which he is the ſovereign, as a ſtranger, who looks with indifference upon all that paſſes in it, and as if it was not his concern. The univerſe, in all its parts, declares and points out its Author, but for the moſt part to the deaf and blind, who have neither ears to hear, nor eyes to ſee.

One of the greateſt ſervices that philoſophy can do us, is to awaken us from this drowſineſs, and rouſe us from this lethargy, which is a diſhonour to humanity, and in a manner reduces us below the beaſts,

beasts, whose stupidity is the consequence of their nature, and not the effect of neglect or indifference. It awakens our curiosity, it excites our attention, and leads us, as it were, by the hand, through all the parts of nature, to induce us to study and search out the wonderful works of it.

It presents the universe to our eyes as a large picture, whereof every part has its use, every line its grace and beauty, but is most wonderful when considered in the whole together. By laying before us so beautiful a spectacle, it teaches us to observe the order, symmetry, and proportion, that reigns throughout the whole; and with what equality this order, both of the whole and of every part, is preserved and maintained; and thereby leads us to the invisible Hand and Wisdom, by which the whole is disposed.

Philosophy, by thus carrying man from wonder to wonder, and conducting him, in a manner, through the whole world, does not suffer him to remain a stranger to himself, or to be ignorant of his own proper being, in which God has been pleased to draw his own image in a far more sensible and perfect manner, than in the rest of the creation.

It is plain, that I am here principally speaking of that branch of philosophy which is called *Physics*, as it is employed in the consideration of nature. I shall examine it under two views, the one of which I shall call the physics of the learned, and the other the physics of children. This last takes in only the objects themselves, as they make an impression upon the senses; whereas the other enters upon a thorough examination of nature, and endeavours to find out its causes.

The Physics of the Learned.

The consideration of the world, and the different parts of which it is composed, has always been

the ſtudy of philoſophers, and nothing is certainly more worthy of our attention. It is not poſſible to ſee the heavens and ſtars continually rolling over our heads, without being tempted to ſtudy their motion, and obſerve their order and regularity. Three principal ſyſtems have divided the philoſophers, of which I ſhall here give an abridgment.

The Syſtems of the World.

The firſt ſyſtem is Ptolomy's, under which I ſhall take in what his followers have added. This philoſopher lived in the ſecond century, under the Emperors Adrian and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, about the year of Chriſt 138.

He placed the earth in the centre of the univerſe. According to him, the moon was nearer the earth than all the other planets. Above the Moon were Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, and above all theſe planets was the Firmament, in which he ſuppoſed all the ſtars were fixed as in an arched roof, that was concentrical to the earth. In conſequence hereof, he ſuppoſed that the ſun, with all the planets and the fixed ſtars, were carried every twenty four hours from eaſt to weſt round the earth, by an heaven, which he placed above the firmament, and which having this motion, communicated it to all the inferior heavens, and conſequently to the planets, which adhered to them.

Beſides this motion, which was common to all the heavenly bodies, he attributed a particular movement to the ſun, planets and fixed ſtars, from weſt to eaſt, but in ſuch manner, that every one of theſe bodies was to make its revolution round the earth at different times. Thus the ſun took up a year in making his revolution from weſt to eaſt, Saturn thirty years, &c.

Copernicus was born about the end of the fifteenth century, and judging that the appearances of the heavens could not well be explained upon Ptolomy's

my's hypothesis, he invented another; and after he had spent above thirty years about it, he at last communicated it to the public, being much pressed to it by the reproaches and solicitations of his friends. This hypothesis was not intirely unknown to the ancients, and in some parts of it stands thus.

The sun lies in the center of the circles, which Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn describe by their proper motion from west to east. The earth, according to him, has a like motion with that of the planets, which are situated thus. He places above the sun, but at different distances, Mercury, Venus, the Earth, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, and the fixed stars beyond all these planets, which are at so considerable a distance from the earth, that thirty millions of leagues are an inconsiderable length in comparison with it.

Instead of saying with Ptolomy, that all the heavens, and consequently all the heavenly bodies turn round the earth in twenty four hours from east to west, he supposes that the earth turns round its own axis in twenty four hours, and that in consequence of this motion all the heavenly bodies must seem to turn round the earth in twenty four hours from east to west. In like manner to explain the apparent annual motion of the sun from west to east, he supposes that the earth moves every year from west to east round the sun.

He supposes also that the moon moves round the earth in twenty seven days and a half while the earth is moving round the sun.

As to the other planets he supposes that they move round the sun in a greater or less time, in proportion as they are more or less distant from it.

Moons or satellites have been discovered round Jupiter and Saturn, which move about those planets, whilst they are carried round the sun in the same manner as the moon moves round the earth.

The third system is that of Tycho Brahe a philosopher, born about the middle of the sixteenth century. This system, which properly speaking is but a

mixture

mixture of the other two, did not meet with many followers, nor do I think it necessary to give an account of it here. That of Copernicus prevails most at present, and is founded on principles which make it very probable.

These systems are but bare conjectures, as it has not pleased God, who alone is thoroughly acquainted with his own work, to discover to us in express terms the order and disposition of it; and it is for this reason that the scripture says, that he has set the world for man to dispute about; g *Mundum tradidit disputationi eorum.* But this study, though it is not certain and evident in itself, does notwithstanding extremely satisfy the mind, by laying a system before it, which explains all the effects of nature in a sensible and rational manner, and at the same time gives us a clear and distinct idea of the infinite greatness, power, and wisdom of God.

By means of telescopes, the modern astronomers have made such discoveries in the heavens, as though very certain, will always appear chimerical to the generality of mankind.

According to these astronomers, Saturn is four thousand times bigger than the earth, Jupiter eight thousand times, and the sun a million of times bigger.

The distance of the earth and planets from the sun is no less incredible. A cannon ball in going from the earth to the sun, if it always kept its first degree of velocity, would take up twenty five years before it got thither, and if discharged from Saturn would not arrive there in less than two hundred and fifty years. Now a cannon ball flies six hundred foot in the second of a minute; supposing then that it should constantly preserve the same velocity with which it passed the first six hundred foot after its coming out of the cannon, it would move one hundred and eighty leagues in one hour, and consequently in passing from the earth to the sun it would move thirty nine millions four hundred and two-

g Eccl. iii. 11.

twenty thouſand leagues, which upon this ſuppoſition is the earth's diſtance from the ſun; and the diſtance of Saturn from the Sun is to be computed in proportion.

The bigneſs of the fixed ſtars, and their diſtance from the ſun, are ſtill more inconceivable.

Every one of theſe fixed ſtars is a ſun, and there is reaſon to believe of no leſs bigneſs than that which enlightens us. Thoſe ſtars which are neareſt to us, are notwithſtanding ſo far removed from the ſun, that a cannon ball moved with the velocity we have mentioned would take up above ſix hundred thouſand years to paſs over the ſpace which lies betwixt thoſe ſtars and the ſun.

What is a man, a city, a kingdom, or the earth itſelf in its whole extent, in compariſon of theſe vaſt bodies, whoſe immenſe magnitude ſurpaſſes all imagination, but an imperceptible point? What is then the whole world itſelf in compariſon of him, who created it by a ſingle word, [h] *He ſpake and they were made?* Have not the prophets reaſon to tell us, that all the nations are in the ſight of God, but as a drop of water, and the earth which they inhabit as a grain of duſt? That the whole univerſe in compariſon of him is but as a point? and that his power and wiſdom conduct and direct all the motions of it with the ſame eaſe as a hand ſuſtains a light weight which it plays with, rather than is burdened. Phyſics may very much contribute to confirm us in theſe noble ideas of the ſupreme Being.

We are inſtructed ſtill more, if poſſible, to admire his greatneſs by the ſmalleſt inſect. Though microſcopes were but the invention of the laſt age, they have been carried to ſo high a point of perfection, as to diſcover to us animals ſo exceedingly minute, that ſeveral thouſands of them would not equal a grain of ſand in bigneſs; and though ſo extremely ſmall, there are ſome of them, which contain others that

[h] Iſai. xl. 12, 13, 17.

that are no sooner born, than they swim with a surprising agility and swiftness.

The mind is lost in the divisibility of matter. The most common opinion is, that how far soever matter may be divided, or into how small parts soever it be reduced, the particles of it may still be divided *in infinitum*. We find divisions in art and nature which go infinitely farther than can be imagined. Rohault assures us, that a cube of gold of five lines and one seventh of an inch, is divided by the workman into six hundred and fifty one thousand five hundred and ninety parts equal to the base. We know by the observation of naturalists, that a cubic inch of matter contains a million of visible particles, that a cubic inch of water rarified in an æolipile, produces above thirteen thousand three hundred millions of particles, and that more than thirteen thousand particles of water may be fixed upon the point of a needle.

I cannot avoid transcribing here an admirable passage from the thoughts of M. Pascal, which relates to the matter I am treating of. It is the twenty second chapter, intitled, *the general knowledge of man*.

The first thing which offers itself to man when he looks upon himself, is his body, that is, a certain portion of matter peculiar to him; but to comprehend what it is, he ought to compare it with all that is above him and below him, before he can come to the knowledge of its just bounds.

Let him not therefore stop at barely considering the objects that surround him, let him contemplate all nature in its full majesty, let him view that shining luminary which is placed as an eternal lamp to give light to the world; let the earth appear to him as a point in comparison of the vast circumference which that heavenly body describes, and let him stand astonished that this vast circumference itself is but a very small point in comparison of that, which the stars make that move in the firmament; and if our views stop there, let the imagination pass further.

ther. It will ſooner ceaſe to conceive, than nature to furniſh matter for conception. All that we ſee in the world is but an imperceptible circumſtance in the ample boſom of nature. No idea can come up to the extent of its ſpaces. We may enlarge our conceptions, as much as we pleaſe, we ſhall bring forth nothing but atoms in compariſon with the reality of things. 'Tis an infinite ſphere, whoſe centre lies in every part, and the circumference no where; and laſtly, it is one of the greateſt ſenſible characters of God's omnipotence, that our imagination is loſt in this thought.

Let man then return to himſelf, and conſider what he is in compariſon with what univerſally exiſts. Let him take a view of himſelf, as having ſtrayed into this out of the way diſtrict of nature, and from the judgment he will form of this ſmall dungeon, wherein he dwells, that is, the viſible world, let him learn to ſet a juſt value upon the earth, upon kingdoms, cities and himſelf.

What then is man with reſpect to infinity? Who is able to comprehend it? But to preſent him with another kind of prodigy, as ſurpriſing as the former, let him enquire into the ſmalleſt things he knows, that a fly for inſtance, ſhould have parts in its little body incomparably more little, legs with joints, veins in thoſe legs, blood in thoſe veins, humours in that blood, drops in thoſe humours, and vapours in thoſe drops; and ſtill proceeding in his diviſions, let him exhauſt the whole force of his conceptions, and let the laſt object he can think of be the ſubject of our preſent diſcourſe. He will judge perhaps that this is the ſmalleſt portion of nature; but within this I will ſhew him a new abyſs, I will deſcribe to him not only the viſible univerſe, but farther all that he is capable of conceiving of the immenſity of nature, within the circumference of this imperceptible atom.

Let

Let him take a view of an infinite number of worlds, whereof every one has its firmament, its planets, its earth, in the ſame proportion as our viſible world. In this earth, let him conſider the animals, and laſtly the mites, in which he will find again all that he diſcovered in the firſt; the ſame thing being ſtill conſtantly repeated in the reſt without end or repoſe. Let him loſe himſelf in theſe wonders, which are as ſurpriſing by their minuteneſs, as others by their magnitude. For who can avoid ſtanding in admiration, that our body, which but a while ago was not to be perceived in the world, but was itſelf imperceptible in the boſom of the whole, ſhould now be a coloſſus, a world, or rather an univerſe, in compariſon of the laſt degree of ſmallneſs, to which we cannot attain?

Let him conſider himſelf in this manner, and he will be affrighted without doubt to ſee himſelf in a manner ſuſpended in the maſs which nature has given him, between the two extremes of infinity and nothing, from which he is equally removed. He will tremble at the view of theſe wonders, and in my opinion his curioſity being changed into admiration, he will be rather diſpoſed to contemplate them in ſilence, than ſeek after them with preſumption.

For in ſhort, what is man conſidered in nature, a nothing in regard to infinity, and every thing in regard to nothing; a medium between nothing and every thing. He is alike removed from the two extremes, and his being is no leſs diſtant from the nothing, from whence he was taken, than from the infinity in which he is loſt. His underſtanding holds the ſame rank in the order of intelligible beings, as his body in the extent of nature, and all that it can do is to perceive ſome appearances in the middle of things, in an eternal deſpair of knowing either the be-

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[1] M. Paſchal means, that in this ſmall part, which one would imagine was the leaſt that could be, other parts may ſtill be conceived, bearing the ſame proportions to one another, as the parts of the viſible world do to each other.

ning or the end. All things have proceeded from nothing, and are carried up to infinity. Who can follow theſe amazing progreſſions? The author of theſe wonders comprehends them; which only he can do.

I have quoted this long paſſage from M. Paſcal, to ſhew how many ſolid reflections the ſtudy of nature may ſupply; and the caſe is the ſame with all that is taught in phyſics.

Is it not a laudable curioſity, to examine into the nature, cauſes and effects of motion, the weight of the air, the cauſe of earthquakes, lightning and thunders?

To know the origin of rivers and fountains is not a matter of indifference. Several are of opinion, that they proceed from the ſea, which ſpreads itſelf far under ground, and then ariſes by imperceptible channels to the ſurface of the earth. Others pretend, that the rain and ſnows are the ſole cauſe of rivers and fountains. The quantity of water and ſnow which falls in a year upon a certain determinate portion of the earth's ſurface, has been calculated for ſeveral years together, and at the ſame time the water that runs in a year, for example, in the Seine; and by this calculation it appears, that a third part of the water and ſnow which falls upon the earth, is more than ſufficient to ſupply the fountains and rivers.

All mankind are witneſſes of the eclipſes of the ſun and moon, and it is a kind of reproach to be wholly ignorant of the cauſe of them. We know that the eclipſes of the ſun happen only becauſe the moon, which is an opaque body, being placed between the earth and ſun, intercepts the light which ſhould come from the ſun to the earth; and that the eclipſe of the moon is occaſioned only by the earth's being placed directly between the moon and ſun, which hinders the ſun from illuminating the moon; and for this reaſon the eclipſes of the ſun never happen but when the moon is new; and the eclipſes of the moon at no time but at the full. But it is moſt ſurpriſing,

that they are foretold by aſtronomers with ſuch exactneſs, that a miſtake of ſome minutes is looked upon by them as a conſiderable error.

Can any thing better deſerve our attention, than the flux and reflux of the ſea? Philoſophers have almoſt always thought, that the moon was the cauſe of it, by compreſſing the intermediate air, and thereby the waters correſponding to it; but the relation between the flux and reflux of the ſea, and the motion of that planet, was never ſo well underſtood as in the laſt century. The moon takes up twelve hours and twenty four minutes in paſſing from the upper part of our meridian to the lower, and twenty four hours and forty eight minutes in returning to the upper part of our meridian again. There are alſo twelve hours and twenty four minutes between the tide, which comes in upon our coaſts every morning, and the tide of flood in the evening, and twenty four hours and forty eight minutes between the morning tide of one day, and the morning tide of the next. Several other agreements of this kind have been likewiſe obſerved, which are very ſurpriſing when thoroughly conſidered.

There is nothing certainly more wonderful in nature, than this general and regular motion of all the waters in the world, which is more ſenſible in the ocean; but not abſolutely unknown in the mediterranean, eſpecially in its gulphs. Is it poſſible not to diſcern the finger of God in the bounds he has ſet to the ſea, and in that order which he ſeems to have writ upon the ſtrand; "hitherto ſhalt thou go, and "no farther, and here ſhall thy proud waves be "ſtayed?" k *Uſque huc venies, et non procedes amplius, et hic confringes tumentes fluctus tuos.*

Can we reaſonably ſuffer youth to be ignorant of ſuch wonders as theſe, or not inſtruct them in the other points treated of in phyſics, and which uſually take up a good part of the ſecond year of philoſophy? When this ſtudy is neglected at this time, it is ſeldom

ſeldom afterwards applied to; but inſtead of neglecting it then, youth ought to be prepared for it before-hand, by being ſhewn it from their infancy, though in a manner ſuitable to their age; and this is what it remains for me to treat in the following article.

The natural Philoſophy of Children.

So I call a ſtudy of nature, which ſcarce requires any thing beſides the eyes, and for this reaſon falls within the capacity of all ſorts of perſons, and even of children. It conſiſts in attending to the objects with which nature preſents us, in conſidering them with care, and admiring their different beauties, but without ſearching out their ſecret cauſes, which properly belongs to the phyſics of the learned.

I ſay, that even children are capable of it; for they have eyes, and don't want curioſity; they aſk queſtions, and love to be informed; and here we need only awaken and keep up in them the deſire of learning and knowing, which is natural to all mankind. Beſides, this ſtudy, if it is to be called a ſtudy, inſtead of being painful and tedious, is pleaſant and agreeable; it may be uſed as a recreation, and ſhould uſually be made a diverſion: It is inconceivable, how many things children are capable of, if all the opportunities of inſtructing them were laid hold of, with which they themſelves ſupply us.

A garden, a country, a palace, are all ſo many books which ly open to them; but they muſt have been taught and accuſtomed to read in them. Nothing is more common amongſt us, than the uſe of bread and linen. How ſeldom do children know how either of them are prepared, through how many operations and hands the corn and the flax muſt paſs, before they are turned into bread and linen? The ſame may be ſaid of cloth, which bears no reſemblance to the wool whereof it is formed, any more than paper to the rags which are picked up in the ſtreets; and why ſhould not children be inſtructed in theſe wonderful works of nature and

art, which they every day make uſe of without reflecting upon them?

It is very agreeable, to read in Tully's treatiſe of old age, the elegant deſcription which he gives of the growth of corn. [1] It is admirable how the ſeed, fermented and ſoftened by the warmth and moiſture of the earth, which kindly retains it in her boſom, ſends forth at firſt a verdant point, which fed and nouriſhed from the root, raiſes itſelf by degrees, and erects an hollow ſtalk, ſtrengthened with knots; how the ear, incloſed in a kind of caſe, inſenſibly grows in it, and at laſt ſhoots forth in an admirable form, fortified with bearded ſpikes, which ſerve it as a guard againſt the injuries of the ſmall birds. But to view this wonder itſelf with our own eyes, to follow it attentively through all its different changes, and purſue it till it comes to perfection, is quite another ſpectacle.

A careful maſter will find in this manner, wherewithal to enrich the mind of his diſciple with a great number of uſeful and agreeable ideas, and by a proper mixture of ſhort reflections, will at the ſame time take care to form his heart, and lead him by nature to religion. I ſhall give ſome examples, which will ſhew how uſeful this ſort of exerciſe may be, better than any thing I can ſay upon the ſubject. They are not mine, as will ſoon be perceived; I ſhall borrow moſt of them from an excellent manuſcript upon Geneſis, which is in the hands of ſeveral perſons. Theſe examples will ſerve to ſhew, in what manner we ought to ſtudy nature in every thing preſented to our eyes, and trace it backwards up to the Creator. I ſhall confine myſelf to the ſubject of plants and animals.

I. Plants.

[1] Me quidem non fructus modo, ſed etiam ipſius terrae vis ac natura delectat. Quae cum gremio mollito ac ſubacto ſemen ſparſum excepit.... tepefactum vapore et compreſſu ſuo diffindit, et elicit herbeſcentem ex eo viriditatem: quae nixa fibris ſurpium ſenſim adoleſcit, culmoque erecta geniculato, vaginis jam quaſi pubeſcens includitur, è quibus cum emerſerit, fundit frugem ſpici ordine ſtructam, et contra avium minorum morſus munitur vallo ariſtarum. De Senect. n. 51.

I. Plants, Flowers, Fruits, *and* Trees.

[m] The firmament, in which the sun, the moon and stars shine with so much splendor, is the first preacher, which declared the glory of God, nor is any thing wanting besides this book, written in characters of light, to render all mankind inexcusable: But the Divine Wisdom is no less admirable in the smallest of its works, by which it has in a manner vouchsafed to become more accessible to us, and seems to invite us to a nearer consideration of it, without fear of being dazzled by its radiance.

Plants.

The most contemptible in appearance has wherewithal to astonish the sublimest understandings, which notwithstanding can see only the grosser organs of them, without entering into all the secrets of their life, nourishment and increase. Not a leaf in them but is disposed with attention; order and symmetry are visible throughout the whole; and that with so prodigious a variety of fissures, ornaments and beauties, that no one perfectly resembles the other.

What discoveries are made in the smallest seeds by the help of microscopes? How great virtue and efficacy has God implanted in them by a single word, by which he seems to have given plants a kind of immortality. [n] *Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed.*

Can any thing be more worthy our admiration, than the general colour wherewith it has pleased God to beautify every plant? Had all the fields been clothed in white or red, who could have borne the splendor or rigour of their dress? If he had blackened them with darker colours, who could have been delighted with so sad and mournful a

[m] Pal. xix. [n] Gen. i. 11.

spectacle? An agreeable verdure holds the mean between these two extremes, and bears such relation to the structure of the eye, that it refreshes instead of tiring it, and supports and nourishes it instead of exhausting its force. But what at first we should judge to be one colour, is an astonishing variety of shades. It is every where green, but no where the same. No plant is coloured like another; and this surprising variety, which no art can imitate, is farther diversified in every plant, which in its first shooting forth, in its growth and maturity, puts on a different verdure.

The same may be said of the figure, smell, taste, and uses of plants, both for nourishment and medicine. I shall make here but one more reflection.

If God had not given hay, when dried and kept for a long season, the power of feeding horses, oxen, and other animals of service, how would the labourer, or man of wealth, have satisfied the hunger of animals of so vast bulk, and which are only useful whilst they have strength? Should we undertake to feed a man in this manner, or because the herb might be too dry for his chewing, should we give him broths or infusions of a great bundle of hay and straw, would this be able to keep him alive? This very dry herb suffices likewise to make other animals give twice a day a quantity of milk, which may supply the place of all other food to a whole family. When we consider this wonder, which passes every day before our eyes without any reflection, can we avoid admiring the wisdom and goodness of God? *He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man* [a].

Flowers.

I transport myself from hence in thought to a field covered with flowers, or a garden well cultivated.

[a] Psalm civ. 14.

vated. What beautiful enamel, what colours, what wealth, and at the ſame time, how great an harmony and fragrance in their mixture, and in the ſhades with which they are blended! How fine a picture, and by how great a maſter! How laviſh in the profuſion of ornaments! From what ſource could the beauties we look upon ariſe? What is in itſelf the principle of ſo much ſplendor and ornaments ſo richly diverſified?

But let us paſs from this general view, to the conſideration of ſome flowers in particular, and let us cull by chance the firſt that ſhall fall in our way, without putting ourſelves to the trouble of making a choice.

It no ſooner opens, but it has all its freſhneſs and luſtre. Has art invented ſuch lively, and at the ſame time ſuch delicate hues? Is any ſtuff ſo fine, or wove with ſuch exquiſite uniformity? [p] Is the purple of Solomon equal to the leaves in my hand? How coarſe in compariſon! How rough! How groſs in the workmanſhip, and how different in the colour!

But though this flower were leſs beautiful in every part than it is, can we imagine a more agreeable ſymmetry in the whole, a more regular diſpoſition in its leaves, or a greater exactneſs in its proportions?

One would believe, if we were only to examine the wiſdom of God, and if I may be allowed the expreſſion, his complacency in the compoſition of ſo perfect a flower, that it was to laſt for ever; but before evening it ſhall fade, and the next day be withered by the ſun, and the day after periſh. What ſhould we then think of the immenſe ocean of beauties, which ſo plentifully beſtows them upon an herb that is to laſt but a few hours? What will he do when he ſhall undertake to adorn the mind, he who diffuſes ſuch ſplendor upon the graſs deſigned for the food of animals? And how great is the blindneſs of the world, who reckon upon beauty, youth, authority, and human glory, as ſolid benefits, without remembering that they are

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[p] Mat. vi. 29.

as the transient flower of an herb, which to-morrow shall be no more? [a] *All flesh is grass, and all the glory thereof as the flower of the field.*

Fruits.

Hitherto we have considered the earth as a field or a garden of herbs; let us now consider it as a rich orchard abounding with all kinds of fruit, which succeed one another according to the seasons.

I consider one of these trees extending its branches, bowing down to the earth, under the weight of excellent fruit, whose colour and smell invite the taste, and in surprising plenty. This tree, by the pomp it displays before my eyes, seems to cry out, Learn of me how great the goodness and magnificence of God is, who has formed me for you. It is neither for him nor for me, that I thus abound in riches. He stands in need of nothing, and I can make no use of what is given me. Bless him and unload me; give thanks to him; and as he has made me the minister of your entertainment, do you become the minister of my gratitude.

Such invitations as these I seem to hear from every quarter, and as I advance, I still discover new subjects of praise and admiration. Here the fruit lies concealed within; and there the kernel is covered with a delicate pulp, all shining without in the most lively colours. This fruit arises from a flower, as almost all fruits do; but that other, which is so delicious, is preceded by no flower, but springs out of the very rind of the fig tree. The one begins the summer, and the other ends it. If one is not speedily gathered, it falls and withers; and if time is not allowed to the other, it will never come to maturity. The one keeps long, and the other presently corrupts; one refreshes, and another strengthens. But all I see raises in me a spirit of wonder.

[a] Isa. xl. 6.

wonder and tranſport, and I cannot avoid crying out with the prophet: [r] *The eyes of all wait upon thee, O Lord, and thou giveſt them their meat in due ſeaſon; thou openeſt thy hand and filleſt all things living with plenteouſneſs.*

Trees.

We have already treated of theſe, when we ſpoke of fruits; but they deſerve ſome particular reflections.

Amongſt the fruitful trees, there are ſome which bear their fruits in two ſeaſons of the year, and others join together both different ſeaſons and years too, by bearing at once both flowers and green and ripe fruit, in order to ſhew the unbounded power of the Creator, who, by diverſifying the laws of nature, lets us ſee that he is the maſter of them, and can alike diſpoſe of all ſeaſons, and all things at his pleaſure.

I obſerve that they are the weak trees, or thoſe of a moderate height, which bear the moſt exquiſite fruits. The higher they riſe, the poorer they appear, and the leſs agreeable are their fruits. I underſtand this leſſon, and the feeble ſtem of the vine, whoſe grapes I admire, tells me in its language, that the moſt wonderful fruits are often neareſt the earth.

The other trees which bear only leaves, or fruits that are bitter and very ſmall, are notwithſtanding very uſeful; and providence has made up the defect in ſuch a manner, that, upon ſome occaſions, the barren are to be preferred to the more fruitful, which are hardly of any uſe either for building or navigation, or other indiſpenſable wants.

If we had not ſeen ſuch high and large trees as are in certain foreſts, we could not believe that the drops of rain which fall from heaven were capable of ſupplying them with nouriſhment. For not only a very plentiful ſap is neceſſary to them, but one that

[r] Pſal. cxliv. 15, 16.

that abounds in spirits and salts of every kind, to give the root, the trunk and branches, that force and vigour which we admire in them. It is very remarkable, that the more these trees are neglected, the more beautiful they grow, and that were men to apply themselves to cultivate them like the small trees of their gardens, they would only do them a prejudice. Thou hereby, O Lord, giveſt a proof, that it is thou only that haſt formed them, and teacheſt man that his cares and induſtry are uſeleſs to thee; and that if thou requireſt them to be uſed about certain little trees, it is only to employ him, and put him in mind of his own weakneſs, by having only weak things like himſelf committed to his care.

Laſtly, among the trees I obſerve ſome which always preſerve their verdure, and in them I imagine I diſcern a figure of immortality, as the others, which are ſtripped in winter to be clothed again in the ſpring, ſeem to preſent me with an image of the reſurrection.

II. Animals.

In the deſcription of animals, I ſhall obſerve the order which God followed in their creation.

Fish.

What an abundance of fiſh do the waters produce of every ſize? When I view theſe animals, I ſeem to diſcern nothing beſides a head and a tail. They have neither feet nor arms. Their very head cannot freely be moved; and were I to conſider only their figure, I ſhould think them deprived of all that was neceſſary for the preſervation of their life; but with theſe few outward organs, they are more nimble, dextrous and artificial, than if they had ſeveral hands and feet; and the uſe they make of their tail and fins, carries them along like arrows and ſeems to make them fly.

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As the fiſh devour one another, how can theſe watry inhabitants ſubſiſt? God has provided for it by multiplying them in ſo prodigious a manner, that their fruitfulneſs infinitely ſurpaſſes their mutual deſire of eating one another; and what is deſtroyed is always far inferior to their increaſe.

I am only in pain how the little ones ſhould eſcape the bigger, which look upon them as their prey, and are continually in purſuit of them. But this weak race are ſwifter in their courſe than the others. They creep into places where the low water will not admit of the larger fiſh, and it ſeems as if God had given them a foreſight in proportion to their weakneſs and dangers.

Whence comes it, that the fiſh live in the midſt of water, ſo loaded with ſalt, that we cannot bear a drop of them in our mouths, and enjoy there a perfect vigour and health; and how do they preſerve, in the midſt of ſalt, a fleſh that has not the leaſt taſte of it?

Why do the beſt, and ſuch as are moſt fit for the uſe of man, draw near the coaſts, to offer themſelves in a manner to him, whilſt a great many others, which are uſeleſs to him, affect remoteneſs from him?

Why do thoſe, who keep themſelves in unknown places, whilſt they multiply and acquire a certain bulk, come in ſhoals at a particular time to invite the fiſhermen, and throw themſelves, in a manner, into their nets and boats?

Why do ſeveral of them, and of the beſt kinds, enter the mouths of rivers, and run up even to their ſprings, to communicate the advantages of the ſea to ſuch countries as lie at a diſtance from it? And what hand conducts them with ſo much care and goodneſs towards man, but thine, O Lord, though ſo viſible a providence ſeldom occaſions their acknowledgment?

This providence is every where to be diſcerned, and the innumerable ſhells which are ſpread upon the ſhore, hide different kinds of fiſh, that with a very ſmall appearance of life are ſure to open their ſhells

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at certain regular times to take in freſh water, and retain therein, by ſpeedily joining them together, the imprudent prey which falls into that ſnare.

Birds.

We ſee a ſurpriſing imitation of reaſon in ſeveral animals, but it no where appears in a more ſenſible manner than in the induſtry of birds in building their neſts.

In the firſt place, what maſter has taught them that they have need of them? Who has taken care to inform them to prepare them in time, and not to ſuffer themſelves to be prevented by neceſſity? Who has told them how they ſhould build them? What mathematician has given them the figure of them? What architect has taught them to chuſe a firm place and to build upon a ſolid foundation? What tender mother has adviſed them to cover the bottom with a ſoft and delicate ſubſtance, ſuch as down and cotton? And when theſe matters fail, who has ſuggeſted to them that ingenious charity, which leads them to pluck off ſo many feathers from their own breaſts with their beaks, as is requiſite for the preparing a convenient cradle for their young?

In the ſecond place, what wiſdom has pointed out to every diſtinct kind a peculiar manner of building their neſts, ſo as to obſerve the ſame precautions, though in a thouſand different ways? Who has commanded the ſwallow, the moſt ſubtle of birds, to draw near to man and make choice of his houſe for the building of his neſt, within his view, without fear of his knowing it, and ſeeming rather to invite him to a conſideration of his labour? Neither does he build like other birds with little bits of ſticks and ſtubble, but employs cement and mortar, and in ſo ſolid a manner, that it requires ſome pains to demoliſh its work; and yet in all this it makes uſe of no other inſtrument but its beak. Reduce if it is poſſible, the ableſt architect to the ſmal

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bulk of this ſwallow, leave him all his knowledge and only a beak, and ſee if he will have the ſame ſkill and the like ſucceſs.

Thirdly, Who has made all the birds comprehend that they muſt hatch their eggs by ſitting upon them? That this neceſſity was indiſpenſable? That the father and mother could not leave them at the ſame time, and that if one went abroad to ſeek for food, the other muſt wait till it returns? Who has fixed in the calendar the expreſs number of days this painful diligence is to laſt? Who has advertiſed them to aſſiſt the young, that are already formed, in coming out of the egg, by firſt breaking the ſhell? And who has ſo exactly inſtructed them in the very moment before which they never come?

Laſtly, who has given leſſons to all the birds upon the care they ought to take of their young, 'till ſuch time as they are grown up, and in a condition to provide for themſelves? who has made them to diſtinguiſh ſuch things as agree well with one ſpecies, but are prejudicial to another? And amongſt ſuch as are proper to the parents and unfit for the young, who has made them to diſtinguiſh ſuch as are ſalutary? We know the tenderneſs of mothers and the carefulneſs of nurſes amongſt mankind, but I queſtion whether it ever came up to what we ſee in theſe little creatures.

Who has taught ſeveral among the birds that marvellous induſtry of retaining food or water in their gullet, without ſwallowing either the one or the other, and preſerving them for their young, to whom this firſt preparation ſerves inſtead of milk?

Is it for the birds, O Lord, that thou haſt joined together ſo many miracles, which they have no knowledge of? Is it for men, who give no attention to them? Is it for the curious, who are ſatisfied with admiring them, without raiſing their thoughts to thee? Or is it not rather viſible, that thy deſign has been to call us to thyſelf by ſuch a ſpectacle: to make us ſenſible of thy providence and infinite wiſdom; and

to fill us with confidence in thy bounty, who watcheſt with ſo much care and tenderneſs over the birds, [a] though two of them are ſold but for a farthing?

But let us ſet bounds to our obſervations upon the induſtry of birds, for the ſubject is infinite, and hearken for a moment to the concert of their muſic, the firſt praiſe which God received from nature, and the firſt ſong of thankſgiving, which was offered to him before man was formed. All their ſounds are different, but all harmonious, and altogether compoſe a choir which men have but ſorrily imitated. One voice however, more ſtrong and melodious, is diſtinguiſhed among the reſt, and I find upon inquiry from whence it comes, that it is a very ſmall bird, which is the organ of it. This leads me to conſider all the reſt of the ſinging tribe, and they alſo are all ſmall: the great ones being either wholly ignorant of muſic, or having a diſagreeable voice. Thus I every where find that what ſeems weak and ſmall has the beſt deſtination, and the moſt gratitude.

Some of theſe little birds are extremely beautiful, nor can any thing be more rich or variegated than their feathers; but it muſt be owned, that all ornament muſt give place to the finery of the peacock, upon which God has plentifully beſtowed all the riches which ſet off the reſt, and laviſhed upon it with gold and azure all the ſhades of every other colour. This bird ſeems ſenſible of its advantage, and looks as if deſigned to diſplay all its beauties to our eyes, when it expands that ſplendid circumference which ſets them all to view.

But this moſt pompous bird of all has a moſt diſagreeable cry, and is a proof, that with a very ſhining outſide there may be but a ſorry ſubſtance within, little gratitude and a great deal of vanity.

In examining the feathers of the reſt, I find one thing very ſingular in thoſe of the ſwans and other river fowl, for they are proof againſt the water, and con-

[a] Matt. x. 29.

continue always dry, and yet our eyes do not diſcover either the artifice or difference of them.

I look upon the feet of the ſame birds, and obſerve webs there, which diſtinctly mark their deſtination. But I am much aſtoniſhed to ſee theſe birds ſo ſure, that they run no hazard by throwing themſelves into the water; whereas others, to whom God has not given the like feathers or feet, are never ſo raſh as to expoſe themſelves to it. Who has told the former that they run no danger, and who keeps back the others from following their example? It is not unuſual to ſet duck eggs under a hen, which in this caſe is deceived by her affection, and takes a foreign brood for her natural off-ſpring; that run to the water as ſoon as they come out of the ſhell, nor can their pretended mother prevent them by her repeated calls. She ſtands upon the brink in aſtoniſhment at their raſhneſs, and ſtill more at the ſucceſs of it. She finds herſelf violently tempted to follow them, and warmly expreſſes her impatience, but nothing is capable of carrying her to an indiſcretion which God has prohibited. The ſpectators are ſurpriſed at it, more or leſs in proportion to their underſtanding, for it is the want of light and underſtanding, when ſuch prodigies excite ſo little admiration. But it is rare that the ſpectators learn from this example, that it is neceſſary to be deſtined by providence to diſcharge the functions of a dangerous ſtate, and to receive from it all that is requiſite for our ſecurity; and that it is a fatal raſhneſs for others to venture upon it, who have neither the ſame vocation nor the ſame talents.

I ſhould never have done, ſhould I undertake to conſider many miracles of a like nature with thoſe I have here related. I ſhall content myſelf with one obſervation more, which takes in ſeveral others, and relates to birds of paſſage.

They have all their allotted times, which they do not exceed; but this time is not the ſame for every ſpecies. Some wait for the winter, others the

ſpring; ſome the ſummer, and others the autumn. There is amongſt every ſort a public and general rule of government, which guides and retains every ſingle bird in its duty. Before the general edict, there is none thinks of departing. After its publication there is no one tarries behind. A kind of council fixes the day, and grants a certain time to prepare for it, after which they all take their flight; and ſo exact is their diſcipline, that the next day there is not a ſtraggler or deſerter to be found. Many people know no other bird but the ſwallow that acts thus, but it is certain that many other ſpecies do the ſame. Now I aſk, though we had but the ſingle inſtance of the ſwallow, what news have they received from the countries whither they go in great companies, to be aſſured that they ſhall find all things there prepared for their reception? I aſk, why they do not keep like other birds to the country where they have brought up their young, which have been ſo kindly treated in it? By what diſpoſition to travel does this new brood, which knows no other than its native country, conſpire all at once to quit it? In what language is the ordinance publiſhed, which forbids all both old and new ſubjects of the republic to tarry beyond a certain day? and laſtly, by what ſigns do the principal magiſtrates know, that they ſhould run an extreme hazard in expoſing themſelves to be prevented by a rigorous ſeaſon? What other anſwer can be given to theſe queſtions than that of the prophet, † *O Lord, how manifold are thy works, in wiſdom haſt thou made them all?*

Land Animals.

I am obliged to abridge this ſubject, to put an end to this ſmall treatiſe, which has inſenſibly grown very long.

The ſingle inſtance of the dog, ſhews us how capable

† Pſal. ciii. 24.

ble God is of giving matter all the outward appearances of understanding, fidelity, friendship and gratitude, without the principle of them. As this example is known to all the world, I shall not dwell upon it.

The actions of the bee are no less admirable. Instead of contenting itself with sucking the honey, which is better preserved in the cups of flowers than any where else, and feeding upon it day by day, it lays up a provision for the whole year, and principally for the winter. It loads the little hooks which adorn its legs with all the wax and gum that it can carry; and in sucking up the honey with the trunk fixed at the extremity of its head, it avoids the daubing of its wings, of which it stands in need to fly from place to place, and to carry it home.

If care is not taken to prepare a hive for it, it makes one itself in the hollow of some tree or rock; there its first care is to form the comb, which it composes of small equal cells, that they may be the better joined, and leave no interval or space between. Then it pours out the honey pure and unmixed into these small reservoirs; and how plentifully soever its magazines are filled, it takes no rest, till the time of labour and harvest is over. In this republic, there is no idleness, no avarice or self-love, but all is in common. What is necessary is granted to all, a superfluity to none, and it is for the public good that their substance is preserved. New colonies, which would be a burthen to the state, are sent abroad. They know how to work, and are obliged to do so by being dismissed.

Amongst the best governed nations, have we the copy of so perfect a model? Can such surprising wisdom be attributed to chance or a cause without a will? Or can we think these wonders explained by saying, that instinct, nature, and I know not what, is the principle from whence they proceed? And is it not under these images, on one side so perfect, and on the other so remote from matter, that God has

taken a pleaſure to manifeſt what he is, and to teach man what he ſhould be?

Let us paſs from the bee to the ant, which reſembles it in many reſpects, except that a bee enriches man, and the ant ſtrives all he can to impoveriſh him, by ſtealing from him.

This little animal is informed, that the winter is long, and that the ripe corn is not a great while expoſed in the field. Thus the ant never ſleeps during harveſt. It draws along with the little inſtruments which are fixed to its head, grains of corn which are thrice as heavy as itſelf, and goes backward with them as well as it can. Sometimes it finds a friend by the way, which lends its aſſiſtance, but never waits for it.

The repoſitory, where all is public, and no one thinks of making a ſeparate proviſion for itſelf, this repoſitory is made up of ſeveral chambers, which communicate with each other by galleries, and which are all dug ſo deep, that neither the winter rains or ſnows can penetrate ſo far. The ſubterraneous caverns of citadels are inventions by far more modern and leſs perfect; and thoſe who have endeavoured to deſtroy the habitations of ſuch ants as have had leiſure to perfect them, have ſcarce ever ſucceeded: The branches of them are extended ſo far, that they do not feel all the injury that is offered them at firſt.

When their granaries are full, and the winter comes on, they begin to ſecure the grain by [u] biting off the two ends of it, and thereby hindering it from growing. Thus, their firſt food is no other than a care for futurity, and what they are determined to rather by prudence than neceſſity.

Hence we ſee what an incomprehenſible fund of induſtry God has placed in this little animal. Thus has

[u] Pliny the naturaliſt makes the ſame obſervation upon the induſtry of the ants, that they lay up corn for the winter, and prevent it from growing by biting off the end. Lib. xi. c. 30. Yet this fact is now queſtioned by ſome perſons, who abſolutely deny, that the ants lay up any corn.

has he given it a kind of prophetic underſtanding, to oblige us to recur to him, to whom alone it belongs to work ſuch prodigies, who cannot, in my opinion, more ſenſibly ſhew us, that he is the ſource of wiſdom, than by joining together ſo many circumſtances of it in ſo ſmall a part of matter, which has no more than the appearance of it.

Can we ſufficiently admire the induſtry of certain animals, who ſpin with ſuch art and delicacy, that all appears to be the effect of thought and a mathematical ſcheme? Who has taught the ſpider, an animal in other reſpects ſo contemptible, to form ſuch fine threads ſo equal and ſo artfully ſuſpended? Who has learnt it to begin with fixing them to certain points, to join them all in one common center, to draw them firſt in a right line, and then to ſtrengthen them by circles exactly parallel? Who has told it, that theſe threads ſhould be a ſnare to catch other animals that have wings, and that it could not come at them but by ſtratagem? Who has appointed his place in the center, where all the lines meet, and where it is neceſſarily informed by the lighteſt motion, that ſome prey has fallen into his nets? Laſtly, who has told him, that his firſt care then ſhould be to embarraſs the wings of that imprudent prey, by new threads, for fear it ſhould ſtill have left ſome liberty of diſengaging and defending itſelf.

All the world is a witneſs of the labours of the ſilk-worm. But have the moſt ſkilful artiſts hitherto been able to imitate them? Have they found out the ſecret of drawing ſo fine a thread, ſo ſtrong, ſo even, ſo bright and uniform? Have they any materials of greater value than this thread for making the richeſt ſtuffs? Do they know how this worm converts the juice of the leaf into golden threads? Can they give a reaſon, why a liquid matter, before it has taken the air, ſhould grow ſtrong, and lengthen itſelf *in infinitum*, as ſoon as it comes into it? Can any of them explain, how this worm is taught to form itſelf a retreat under the numberleſs turn-

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ings and windings of silk, which have flowed from itself, and now in this rich grave it finds a kind of resurrection, which gives it the wings its first birth had refused it?

Every crawling worm becomes a kind of fly, gnat or butterfly; and first every fly has crawled in its original, and been a kind of worm, caterpillar or insect, before it had wings; and the middle state between these two extremes of elevation and meanness is the time, when the animal becomes a cod or bean, which is done a great number of ways, but always in a manner uniform to every species.

I shall conclude this treatise with some observations upon a small animal, which deserves our utmost admiration. Its name is *formicalio*. It is of an ugly figure, and looks as if it was but half finished; it is of a cruel disposition, for it lives only upon the blood of its prey, and its sole occupation is to lay traps for it. Its artifice is best seen by having such an animal in one's closet.

It is put into an earthen vessel full of very fine sand, in which it presently hides itself. When it is there, it forms in the sand the shape of a cone reversed with an exact and geometrical proportion, and takes up its residence in the point of the cone, which is the center of it, but still keeping itself covered. If any ant, or fly with its wings taken off, is placed at the entrance of the cone, this little animal, which one would not judge capable of the least effort, throws sand forcibly with its head upon the prey it has got an intelligence of, in order to stun it and drag it down to the bottom, where it lies concealed. Then he comes out from the place of his retreat, and after he has quenched his thirst, he throws away the carcase, which might render his cruelty suspected.

If one would have the pleasure of seeing him labour a second time, it is but filling up the cone by stirring the vessel, and it is surprising to see with what diligence the little beast makes a new figure as large and regular as the former.

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How much reasoning is here required, if this workmanship was founded upon reasoning? Can a mathematician think more curiously, and be better acquainted with the nature of the cone, of the sand, and of the motions and the conveyance of their sound from the centre to every part of the circumference? It is certain that this beast must reason, or some one for it. But the wonder is not, either that it should reason, or a foreign principle reason for it, but that this principle should cause all this to be executed by organs, which move of themselves, and seem to act only by an inward principle.

I must not omit that the *formicalio*, of which I have just spoken, is transformed into a great and beautiful fly, from the little and ugly thing it was at first, and is no longer of the same sanguine humour, when it has cast off its first skin.

The Usefulness of these physical Observations.

It is not necessary for me to observe how capable these physical observations, and a great many others of the like nature, are to adorn and enrich the mind of a young man; to make him attentive to the effects of nature, which are constantly before our eyes, and present themselves to us almost every moment, without our reflecting upon them; to teach him a thousand curious points relating to sciences, arts, and professions, such as chemistry, anatomy, botany, painting, navigation, &c. To give him a taste for gardening, planting, the country, and walking, which is by no means a matter of indifference; to enable him to make an agreeable figure in conversation, and not be under a necessity either of holding his tongue, or talking only of trifles.

I call this science the physics of children, because in reality we may begin to teach it them from their infancy, but still with a view to their weakness, and laying nothing before them beyond their capacity, either as to facts, or to the reflections that are joined to them. It is incredible how this small exercise, regularly

regularly continued from the age of ſix or ſeven years, to that of twelve or fifteen, but ſtill under the name and notion of a diverſion and not a ſtudy, would fill the minds of the boys with uſeful and agreeable knowledge, and prepare them for that ſtudy of phyſics, which is proper only to the learned.

But ſome one will ſay, where ſhall we find maſters capable of giving a child theſe inſtructions, which the beſt amongſt them are often very ignorant of, and which require a large extent of knowledge? The matter is not ſo difficult as they may be apt to imagine. [x] Tully ſaid jeſtingly in an oration, wherein he undertook to leſſen the ſtudy of the law, that if they vexed him, as full of buſineſs as he was, he would become a lawyer in three days. I might almoſt ſay the ſame thing, not of the phyſics of the learned, which is a very profound ſcience, but of that which I am here ſpeaking of. It requires no more, than to run over the books in which this kind of obſervations are to be found, ſuch as for inſtance are the memoirs of the academy of ſciences, where we meet with abundance of very curious remarks upon this ſubject. I have ſeen boys, who have been publickly examined in the fourth book of Virgil's Georgics, make a wonderful uſe of what is ſaid in thoſe memoirs upon the little but admirable republic of the bees. A maſter that is curious and ſtudious, will apply to perſons of ſkill, to know what books he ſhould conſult upon each ſubject. Theſe books he either borrows, or ſeeks for in the public libraries; he reads them over, and makes extracts from them, and thereby enables himſelf to teach his ſcholars abundance of curious points; and he has ſeven or eight years time to make this ſmall collection. To ſucceed in it, there is nothing wanting but inclination.

ARTICLE

[x] Itaque, ſi mihi, homini vehementer occupato, ſtomachum moveritis, triduo me juriſconſultum eſſe profitebor. Pro Muren. n. 28.

ARTICLE the FOURTH.

Philosophy serves to inspire a great Respect for Religion.

ALL that I have said of physics, very clearly shews, that one of the great effects, and the most essential fruit of philosophy, is to raise man to the knowledge of the greatness, power, wisdom, and goodness of God, to render him attentive to his providence, to teach him to ascend up to him by the consideration of the wonderful works of nature, to make him sensible of his benefits, and point out to him subjects of praise and thanksgiving.

We learn from God himself, both in the Old and New Testament, that this is the proper use we ought to make of the creatures, who all teach us our duty. [y] He sends the sluggard in the scriptures to the ant, to learn industry; [z] the ungrateful to the ox and ass, who make a grateful return for their master's care; [a] the inconsiderate to the stork and swallow, who know their appointed times. [b] Jesus Christ lays down the consideration of the lilies of the valley, and the birds of the air, as an instruction to all mankind, absolutely to rely upon the cares of a providence, which is at the same time watchful over all, abundant in goodness, and almighty. We should therefore not answer the intentions of Divine Wisdom, and should fail in the most essential part of a master's duty, if we did not observe to youth the footsteps of the Deity in all his creatures, as he has been pleased to draw himself, and point out our duty in them.

In

[y] Prov. vi. 6.
[z] Isaiah i. 3.
[a] Jerem. viii. 7.
[b] Mat. vi. 26, 30.

In the account the scripture gives us of the creation of the world, it is often said that [c] God approved, and if I may venture to say it, admired his own works, to teach us how great an admiration they ought to raise in us, how much we ought to study them, and what reflections they deserve; and to reproach us at the same time with our stupidity, in not employing our thoughts about them, and our ingratitude in not returning thanks for them, whilst we continue ignorant and weak, though we live in the midst of the most astonishing prodigies, and are ourselves one of the most incomprehensible.

It is not natural philosophy alone, which assists us in obtaining the knowledge of God; the little I have said upon the principles of morality, drawn from Paganism itself, is sufficient to shew us how proper that branch of philosophy is to inspire us with an high veneration for religion.

Can any thing be more likely to imprint it deeply in the minds of youth, and to lay such solid foundations as are capable to withstand the torrent of incredulity and libertinism, than the famous questions in metaphysics, concerning the existence of a God, and the immortality of the soul?

But the greatest and most important service that philosophy can do for man, is to dispose him to receive whatever is taught by divine revelation with docility and respect. It particularly takes care to make him comprehend, that every thing must be silent before God, reason as well as sense, as nothing is more reasonable, than to give ear to him when he speaks, [d] *Ipsi, de se, Deo credendum est;* that it must not therefore seem strange to reason, that it is made to submit to authority in such sciences, as treating of subjects superior to reason must be guided by another light, which can be only that of divine authority;

[c] And God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good. Gen. i. 31.

[d] Hilar. lib. 4. de Trinit.

rity; that as in the very order of nature there are a thouſand things which human underſtanding cannot comprehend, though beheld with human eyes, there is ſtill greater reaſon to reſpect the veils, which it has pleaſed God to throw over the myſteries of religion; that laſtly, God would ceaſe to be what he is, if he was not incomprehenſible, and that his wonderful works would no longer deſerve that name, if human underſtanding could attain to them.

Theſe are the leſſons which philoſophy gives to youth, not reſtleſs, bold and vain philoſophy, ſuch as [e] St. Paul adviſes the faithful to beware of, and which, by explaining what it believes, often annihilates what it ought to believe; but a wiſe and ſolid philoſophy, founded upon the actual principles and pureſt lights of natural reaſon.

[e] Beware leſt any man ſpoil you through philoſophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Chriſt. Col. ii. 8.

BOOK the SIXTH.

Of the Government of the Claſſes and Colleges.

The INTRODUCTION.

THIS introduction ſhall contain two articles. In the firſt I ſhall ſhew the importance of the good education of youth; in the ſecond I ſhall enquire, whether public inſtruction is preferable to private.

ARTICLE the FIRST.

The Importance of the good Education of Youth.

THE education of youth has been always conſidered by the great philoſophers, and the moſt famous lawgivers, as the moſt certain ſource of the tranquillity and happineſs, both of private families and of ſtates and empires. For what elſe, in ſhort, is a republic or kingdom, but a large body, whoſe health and ſtrength depend upon thoſe of private families, which are the members and parts of it, and none of which can fail in the diſcharge of their function, but the whole body muſt be ſenſible of it? Now what is it but good education which enables all the citizens, and great men, and princes above the reſt, to perform their different functions in a deſerving manner? Is it not evident that youth are as the nurſery of the ſtate? That it is renewed and perpetuated by them? That from among them all, the fathers of families, all magiſtrates and miniſters, in a word, all perſons placed in authority and power are taken? And is it not certain, that the good education of thoſe who are one day to fill thoſe places

wil

will have an influence over the whole body of the ſtate, and become in a manner the ſpirit and general character of the whole nation?

The laws indeed are the foundation of empires, and by preſerving a regularity and good order in them, maintain them in peace and tranquillity. But whence have the laws themſelves that force and vigour, but from good education, which trains up men in ſubjection to them, without which they are but a feeble barrier againſt the paſſions of mankind?

[e] *Quid leges ſine moribus vanæ proficiunt?*

[f] Plutarch makes a judicious reflection on this ſubject, which well deſerves to be conſidered: It is in ſpeaking of Lycurgus. "This wiſe lawgiver, "[g] ſays he, did not think it convenient to ſet down "his laws in writing, as judging that the ſtrongeſt "and moſt effectual means of making cities happy "and people virtuous, was the impreſſion that was "made in the manners of the citizens, and rendered familiar and eaſy to them, by cuſtom and habit. For the principles which education has fixed in their minds, continue firm and unſhaken, "as being founded upon an inward conviction, and "even upon the will, which is always a much "ſtronger and more laſting tie than that of force; "inſomuch that this education becomes the rule of "youth, and ſerves them inſtead of a lawgiver."

Here, in my opinion, we have the juſteſt notion that can be given of the difference there is between the laws and education.

The law, when it ſtands alone, is a ſevere and imperious miſtreſs, ἀναγκη, which lays a man under reſtraint in what he holds moſt dear, and whereof he is moſt jealous; I mean his liberty, which tor-

[e] Horat. Od. xv. lib. iii.

[f] In vit. Lycurg.

[g] Ὄφελος ἡδὲν τῶν ὠφελιμωτατων νόμων, ἢ συνδεδοξασμένων ὑπὸ παντῶν τῶν πολιτευομένων, εἰ μὴ ἔσονται εἰθισμένοι ἢ πεπαιδευμένοι, εν τῇ πολιτείᾳ. Arist. lib. v. Polit. cap. ix.

ments and contradicts him in every thing, is [h] deaf to his remonstrances and desires, never submits to any relaxation, [i] speaks always in a threatening tone, and presents him only with correction. Thus it is not surprising that men should shake off this yoke, as soon as ever they can with impunity, and that giving ear no longer to its offensive directions, they should abandon themselves to their natural inclinations, which the law had only restrained, without changing or destroying them.

But the case is far otherwise with education. Its government is gentle and engaging, an enemy to violence and constraint, which delights to act only by motives of persuasion, which endeavours to make its instructions relished, by speaking always with reason and truth, and tends only to make virtue more easy, by making it more amiable. Its lectures, which begin almost as soon as a child is born, grow up and gather strength with it, in time take deep root, soon pass from the memory and understanding to the heart, are daily imprinted in his manners by practice and habit, become a second nature in him, which it is scarce possible to change, and do the office of a present legislator all the rest of his life, putting him in mind of his duty upon every occasion, and engaging him to the practice of it. Ἡ παιδευσις νομοθετε διαθεσιν ἀπεργαζεται περὶ ἑκαστον αὐτῶν.

We must not wonder, after this, that the ancients have recommended the education of youth with so much care, and looked upon it as the surest means of making an empire permanent and flourishing. [k] It was a capital maxim with them, that children are more the property of the republic than of their parents; and that thus their education should not be left to their fancies, but be intrusted to the care of

[h] Leges, rem surdam, inexorabilem esse. . . . nihil laxamenti, nec veniae habere, si modum excesseris. Liv. lib. ii. n. 3.

[i] Pœna metusque aberant, nec verba minantia fixo aere legebantur. . . . Ovid. lib. ii. Metam. *'Tis a beautiful definition of the laws* Verba minantia.

[k] Arist. Pol. lib. viii. c. i.

of the republic; that for this reason children ought to be brought up, not in private, and in their father's houses, but in public, by common masters, and under the same discipline; that they may be early inspired with a love for their country, respect for its laws, and a taste for the principles and maxims of the state wherein they are to live. For every kind of government has its peculiar genius. The spirit and character of a republic is very different from that of a monarchy. Now this spirit and character are only to be imbibed by education.

It is in consequence of the principles I have laid down, that Lycurgus, Plato, Aristotle, and in a word, all that have left us any rules of government, have declared, that the principal and most essential duty of a magistrate, a minister, a law-giver, and a prince, is to watch over the good education, first of their own children, who often succeed to their functions, and then of the citizens in general, who form the body of the republic; and they observe, that all the misfortunes of states arise only from the negligence of this two-fold duty.

[1] Plato quotes an illustrious example of it in the person of the famous Cyrus, the most accomplished prince we read of in ancient history. He wanted none of the talents which were requisite to make a great man, excepting that we are here speaking of. Being wholly taken up with his conquests, he intrusted the education of his children with the [m] women. These young princes were therefore brought up, not after the rough and severe discipline of the Persians, which had so well succeeded in Cyrus their father, but after the manner of the Medes; that is, in luxury, softness and pleasures. No body ventured to contradict them in any thing. Their ears were open only to praise and flattery; every thing bent their knee, and bowed down before them.

[1] Plat. lib. iii. de leg.

[m] The wife of Cyrus was daughter to the King of Media.

And it was thought essential to their grandeur, to set an infinite distance between them and the rest of mankind, as if they had been of a different species from them. [n] Such an education, so remote from all reproof and correction, had, says Plato, the success which was to be expected from it. The two princes, presently after the death of Cyrus, took up arms against each other, as not being able to bear either a superior or an equal; and Cambyses, grown absolute master, by the death of his brother, ran furiously into all sorts of excess, and brought the Persian empire to the brink of ruin. Cyrus left him a vast extent of provinces, immense revenues, and innumerable armies; but all this turned to his ruin, for want of another benefit far more valuable, which he neglected to leave him, I mean a good education.

This judicious remark of Plato concerning Cyrus, entirely escaped me in reading the history of him by Xenophon. Nor did I reflect that this historian is absolutely silent upon the education of this prince's children; whereas he largely describes the excellent manner in which the Persian youth were brought up, and Cyrus himself among the rest. This is the greatest fault a prince can be guilty of.

Philip king of Macedon behaved in a very different manner. [o] Upon the birth of his son, when engaged in the midst of his conquests, and at the time of his greatest exploits, he wrote Aristotle the following letter: "I give you notice, that I have "a son born; but I am not so much obliged to the "gods for his birth, as for the happiness that he is "come into the world, whilst there is an Aristotle "living. For I hope, that being brought up under "your direction, and by your care, he will not "prove unworthy of his father's glory, nor of "the empire which I shall leave him." This was talking and thinking like a great prince, who was thoroughly

[n] Ὅθεν ἐγίνοντο οἵους ἦν εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι, τροφῆ ἀνεπιπλήκτῳ τραφέντας.

[o] Aul. Gel. lib. ix. cap. 3.

thoroughly acquainted with the importance of a good education. Alexander had the same sentiments. An historian observes, [p] that he loved Aristotle no less than his own father, *because*, he said, *he was indebted to the one for living, and to the other for living well.*

If it is a great fault in a prince not to take care of the education of his own children; it is no less blameable to neglect that of the citizens in general. Plutarch very judiciously observes in the parallel he draws between Lycurgus and Numa, that it was a like negligence which rendered all the good designs and great institutions of the latter useless. The passage is very remarkable. "All the labour of "Numa, says he, who took pains only to maintain the peace and tranquillity of Rome, vanished "with him; and he was no sooner dead, than the "temple of Janus, which he had constantly kept "shut, as if he had really confined the dæmon of "war in it, was immediately opened again, and all "Italy filled with blood and slaughter. Thus the "most beautiful and best of his institutions was "but of short duration, as it wanted the sole type "capable of maintaining it, which was the education of youth."

It was the opposite conduct which so long preserved the laws of Lycurgus in full force. For, as the same Plutarch observes, "the religion of an "oath, which he required of the Lacedæmonians, "would have been but a weak support after his "death, if by education he had not imprinted the "laws in their manners. By education he made "them imbibe the love of his form of government almost with their milk, by making it in a "manner familiar and natural to them. Thus we "see the principle of his institutions subsisted above "five hundred years, like a good and strong dye, "which had penetrated into the very substance of "the soul."

All

[p] Ἀριστοτέλη οὐχ ἧττον ἀγαπῶν (ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν) τοῦ πατρὸς, ὡς μὲν ἐκεῖνον μὲν ζῶν, διὰ τοῦτον δὲ καλῶς ζῶν. Plut. in vit. Alex.

All these great men of antiquity were therefore persuaded, as Plutarch observes of Lycurgus in particular, that the most essential duty of a lawgiver, and in consequence of a prince, was to establish good rules for the education of youth, and to see that they were exactly observed. It is surprising to consider how far they carried their attention and vigilance upon this point. They recommended precautions to be used in the choice of such persons as were to take care of children from their very birth; and it is plain, that Quintilian has taken what he has said upon this subject from Plato and Aristotle, especially in what relates to nurses. [q] He requires, with those wise philosophers, that in the choice that is made of them, care should not only be taken that they had no bad modes of speaking, but also that a special regard should be had to their manners and disposition; and the reason he gives for it is admirable. "For what is learnt, says he, at that age, "is easily imprinted in the mind, and leaves deep "marks behind it, which are not easily to be effa- "ced. As in the case of a new vessel, which long "preserves a tincture of the first liquor poured in- "to it; and like wool, which can never recover "its first whiteness, after it has been once dyed; "and the misfortune is, that bad habits last longer "than good ones."

[r] It is for the same reason, that these philosophers look upon it as one of the most essential duties of those, who are intrusted with the education of children, to remove from them as far as possible the slaves and domestics, whose discourses and examples may be prejudicial to them.

To this they add a piece of advice, which will condemn a great many Christian fathers and masters. They require that boys should not only be prevented

[q] Et morum quidem in his haud dubie prior ratio est: recte tamen etiam loquantur. . . Natura enim tenacissimi sumus eorum quae rudibus annis percepimus: ut sapor quo nova imbuas durat, nec lanarum colores, quibus simplex ille candor mutatus est, elui possunt. Et haec ipsa magis pertinaciter haerent, quae deteriora sunt. Quint. lib. i. cap. 1.

[r] Arist. Polit. lib. vii. c. 17.

prevented from reading any comedies, or seeing any theatrical show, before they arrive at a certain age, but that all pictures, sculptures or tapestry, which may lay any indecent and dangerous image before the eyes of children should be absolutely banished their cities. They desire that the magistrates should carefully watch over the execution of this ordinance, and that they should oblige the workmen, even such as were most industrious, who refused to submit to it, to carry their fatal skill to some other place. [s] They were persuaded, that from such objects as these, that were adapted to flatter the passions and foment vice, there arose a kind of contagious and pestilential air, that was at length insensibly capable of infecting the masters themselves, who breathe it every moment without fear and precaution; and that these objects were like so many poisoned flowers, which exhale a deadly odour, the more to be feared, as it was the less suspected, and even appeared agreeable. These wise philosophers require, on the other hand, that every thing in a city should teach and inspire virtue; inscriptions, pictures, statues, plays and conversations; and that, from every thing that is presented to the senses, and should strike the eyes and ears, there should be formed a kind of salutary air and breath, which should imperceptibly insinuate itself into the souls of children, and assisted by the instruction of the master, should incline them, from their tendereſt years, to the love of probity, and a regard for the honest and the decent. There is a beauty and delicacy in the original text, of which no other language is capable; and though this passage be somewhat long, I have thought proper to quote a great part of it to give some idea of Plato's style.

I shall now return to my subject, and conclude this first article with desiring the reader to consider, how the pagans themselves always looked upon the care of the education of children, as the most essential duty of parents, magistrates and princes, because it

[s] Plat. lib. iii. de Rep.

it is of the laſt importance during the reſt of their lives to have good principles inſtilled into them from the beginning. In ſhort, while their minds are yet tender and flexible, they may be turned and managed as we pleaſe; whereas age and long habit will make faults almoſt incorrigible. [t] *Frangas enim citius quam corrigas, quæ in pravum induruerunt.*

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

Whether a private or a public Education ought to be preferred.

DURING the whole time I have been engaged in the education of youth, being thoroughly ſenſible of the dangers which occur both in private houſes and great ſchools, I have never preſumed to give advice upon this ſubject, and have always contented myſelf with applying as carefully as I could to the inſtruction of the youth which Divine Providence committed to my care. I think I ought ſtill to obſerve the ſame neutrality, and leave it to the prudence of parents to decide a queſtion which certainly admits of great difficulties on both ſides.

[u] Quintilian has diſcourſed upon this point with great prolixity and eloquence. The paſſage is one of the moſt beautiful in his work, and deſerves to be read in the original. I ſhall here give an extract of it.

He begins with anſwering two objections which are uſually made againſt public ſchools.

The firſt relates to purity of morals, which they pretend is here expoſed to the greateſt dangers. Was this the caſe, he thinks we ſhould not heſitate a moment; [x] the care of living well being infinitely preferable to that of ſpeaking well. But, he ſays, th

[t] Quintil. lib. i. cap. 3. [u] Ibid. cap. 1.

[x] Potior mihi ratio vivendi honeſte, quam vel optime dicendi videretur.

the danger is equal on both ſides; that the whole depends upon the natural diſpoſition of the children and the care that is taken of their education; that uſually the evil ſprings from the parents themſelves, by the bad examples they ſet their children. They every day, ſays he, hear and ſee ſuch things, as they ought to be ignorant of during their whole lives. [x] All this paſſes into habit, and ſoon after into nature. The poor children find themſelves vicious, before they know what vice is. Thus, breathing nothing but luxury and pleaſure, they do not derive their irregularity from the ſchools, but bring it thither.

The ſecond objection concerns the advancement in their ſtudies, which muſt be greater in a private houſe, where the maſter has but one ſcholar to inſtruct. Quintilian does not allow it for ſeveral reaſons, which he lays down; but he adds, that this inconvenience, though it were real, is abundantly made good by the great advantages which follow upon a public education.

[y] Firſt, a public education emboldens a young man, gives him courage, early accuſtoms him not to be afraid of appearing in public, and cures him of a certain puſillanimity, which naturally attends a private and retired life; whereas in ſecret he uſually grows languid and dejected, he ruſts in a manner, or elſe falls into an oppoſite extreme, becomes conceited, ſetting a greater value upon himſelf than upon others, from having no perſon to compare himſelf with.

2. and 3. In a public ſchool, there are acquaintances formed, which often laſt as long as life, and there

[x] Fit ex his conſuetudo, deinde natura. Diſcunt haec non iſeri, antequam ſciant vitia eſſe. Inde ſoluti ac fluentes, non accipiunt è ſcholis mala illa, ſed in ſcholas aferunt.

[y] Ante omnia futurus orator, cui in maxima celebritate et in media reip. luce vivendum eſt, aſſueſcat jam à tenero non reformidare homines, neque illa ſolitaria et velut umbratili vita palleſcere. Excitanda mens et attollenda ſemper eſt, quae in hujuſmodi ſecretis aut langueſcit, et quendam velut in opaco ſitum ducit; aut contra tumeſcit inani perſuaſione. Neceſſe eſt enim ſibi nimium tribuat, qui ſe nemini comparat.

there is a certain knowledge of the world to be acquired, which can be learnt only in ſociety. Quintilian does not inſiſt much upon theſe two advantages, and ſeems to ſet no great value on them.

4. The great advantage of ſchools is emulation. A child there improves both by what is ſaid to himſelf, and what is ſaid to others. He will every day ſee his maſter approve one thing, and correct another; blame the idleneſs of this boy, and commend the diligence of that, and will be the better for it all. The love of glory will ſerve him as an incentive to take pains. He will be aſhamed to give place to his equals, and will take pains to excel the moſt forward. A good ſcholar will uſe his utmoſt endeavours to be the firſt in his form, and carry the prize. [z] This gives ardour to young minds; and a noble emulation well managed, without any mixture of malice, envy and pride, is one of the beſt means to lead them to the exerciſe of the greateſt virtues, and the moſt arduous undertakings.

5. Another advantage to be found in ſchools, is, that a young man meets with ſuch models among his companions as are within his reach, ſuch as he flatters himſelf he may be able to come up to, and does not deſpair of ſurpaſſing one day; whereas, if he was alone, it would be preſumption in him to compare himſelf with his maſter.

6. Laſtly, a maſter who has a numerous auditory, exerts himſelf quite otherwiſe than he who, having but one ſcholar, can ſpeak only coldly to him, and in the way of converſation. Now, it is incredible how uſeful this fire and vivacity of a maſter, who, in explaining the beautiful paſſages of an author, grows warm and tranſported, is not only to make the boys attentive, but to inſpire them with the ſame taſte and ſentiments; as he feels in addreſſing himſelf to them.

Quintilian does not fail to obſerve, that the opinion which he maintains is confirmed by univerſal practice,

[z] Accendunt omnia haec animos: et licet ipſa vitium ſit ambitio, frequenter tamen cauſa virtutum eſt.

practice, and the authority of the moſt eſteemed authors, and moſt famous legiſlators.

I might add, that this conduct has been obſerved with no leſs regularity ſince the time of Quintilian, and even amongſt Chriſtians. Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory ſupplies us with abundance of examples. That of St. Baſil and St. Gregory Nazianzen is known to all the world. I ſhall relate it particularly at the cloſe of this volume, and ſhall now only obſerve that the families of theſe two illuſtrious friends were the moſt Chriſtian, that were then in the church. They thought however they might commit the deareſt treaſure they had in the world to the public ſchools, and God bleſſed their pious intentions with a ſucceſs, which far exceeded their expectations. Shall we venture to charge this conduct with imprudence and preſumption?

On the other ſide, may we venture to condemn the religious apprehenſion of Chriſtian parents, who upon ſeeing the dangers which occur in colleges (and it muſt be owned too that they are great) and being leſs ſolicitous about their children's improvement in the ſciences, than to preſerve to them the precious and ineſtimable treaſure of their innocence, determine to bring them up under their own inſpection in a family, where they may hear nothing but diſcreet converſation, where they may ſee nothing but good examples, and from whence whatever may be capable of corrupting the purity of their morals is carefully removed as much as poſſible. There are now certainly ſome ſuch houſes, but the number of them is very few.

Beſides the two uſual methods of bringing up youth, the boarding them out at public ſchools, or inſtructing them in private; there is a third, which holds the mean between both, and ſeems to unite them together; and this is, to ſend children to ſchool to improve by the emulation of the claſſes, and keeping them at home the reſt of the time. By this means perhaps they avoid a part of the dangers, as they are alſo deprived of one part of the advan-

tages of the college; amongſt which we ought certainly to reckon the order, regularity and diſcipline, which by the ſound of a clock points out all the exerciſes of the day in an uniform manner, and the ſimplicity and frugality of their way of living, which are very different from the indulgence of their father's houſes, and ſerve only to render them too nice and tender. [a] This obſervation was made by an illuſtrious magiſtrate in times paſt, in a paſſage which I have quoted in the firſt volume of this work. "My "father, ſays this magiſtrate, ſaid he had two views "in the education of the college; the one was the "gay and innocent converſation of the youths; the "other was the ſchool diſcipline, to make us for-"get the endearments of our home, and as it were "to cleanſe us in freſh water. I think thoſe eigh-"teen months I ſpent at college were of great ſer-"vice to me——I learnt the frugal life of the ſcho-"lars, and how to portion out my time."

Another advantage of colleges, (ſuppoſing them to be ſuch as they ſhould be,) and the greateſt of all, is, that the boys are there thoroughly taught their religion. They learn there to take the knowledge of it from its ſource, to know the true ſpirit and real greatneſs of it, and to fortify themſelves by ſolid principles againſt the dangers which faith and piety too frequently meet with in the world. It is not impoſſible, but certainly it is very rare, to find this advantage in private houſes.

Now what muſt we conclude from all theſe principles and all theſe facts? There is no college which cannot produce a great number of examples of youth who have had an excellent education there, and been improved both in the ſciences and in piety; nor is there any one, which has not ſeen with grief a very great number miſcarry; and the caſe is the ſame in private houſes.

The concluſion which in my opinion we ſhould draw from hence is, that as the dangers are very

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[a] Henry de Meſmes, tom. i. pag. 75.

great to youth on all sides; it is the duty of parents to examine well before God what course they ought to take, equitably to weigh the advantages and inconveniencies which occur on both sides, to be determined in so important a deliberation, only by the motives of religion, and above all to make such a choice of masters and schools, in case they follow that course, as may, if not intirely dissipate, at least diminish their just apprehensions.

The plan and division of this Treatise.

To enter usefully into the particulars of what concerns the interior government of the classes and colleges, it is necessary to consider separately the duty of the different persons who are employed in the education of youth, and have any relation to it. But as there are some general directions which almost belong to all alike, I will begin this treatise with them; that I may avoid the repetitions, which would be otherwise unavoidable.

PART the FIRST.

General Instructions upon the Education of Youth.

I Shall begin with desiring the reader, when I talk of instructions, rules, precepts and duties, which are terms that I cannot avoid employing in the subject I treat of, to do me so much justice as to think that I do not pretend to prescribe laws to any one, or to set up for a master or censurer of my brethren. My only design is to assist, if I can, such young persons as are intrusted with the education of children, who for want of experience are subject to commit a great many faults, as I own, I myself have formerly done; and I shall think my self very happy, if I can contribute to make them avoid them by laying my reflec-

tions before them, or rather thoſe of the ableſt maſters in point of education. For I ſhall here ſcarce ſay any thing of my own, eſpecially in this firſt part, which is the moſt important, and ſhould ſerve as the baſis and foundation to all the reſt. Athens and Rome ſhall ſtill lend me their aſſiſtance. I ſhall likewiſe make uſe of two modern authors and often without quoting them. Theſe are M. de Fenelon archbiſhop of Cambray and Mr. Locke, whoſe writings upon this ſubject are juſtly very much eſteemed. The laſt has ſome particular ſentiments, which I would not always adopt. Beſides, I queſtion whether he was well skilled in the Greek tongue, and in the ſtudy of the Belles Lettres, at leaſt he ſeems not to ſet the value upon them they deſerve. But both of them may be of very great uſe with relation to morals and conduct, not only to young maſters, but to perſons of greater experience. I have taken the liberty of making uſe of the labours of others, as I have thought fit, and I am inclined to think that the public will not be diſpleaſed at it, being content to have good things laid before them, without being concerned from whence they are taken. I ſhall reduce to twelve or thirteen articles the general inſtructions which relate to the education of youth.

ARTICLE the FIRST.

What End we ſhould propoſe to ourſelves in Education.

[b]TO ſucceed in the education of youth, the firſt ſtep in my opinion is to lay down the end we ſhould propoſe, to enquire by what means it is to be obtain-

[b] Decernatur primum et quo tendamus, et qua; non ſine perito aliquo cui explorata ſint ea, in quæ procedimus..... Hic tritiſſima quæque via et celeberrima maxime decipit. Nihil ergo magis præſtandum, quam ne, pecorum ritu, ſequamur antecedentium gregem, pergentes, non qua eundum eſt, ſed qua itur... non ad rationem,

obtained, and to chuſe out an able and experienced guide, who is able to conduct us ſafely to it. Though it be generally a very wiſe and judicious rule to avoid all ſingularity, and to follow the received cuſtoms, yet I queſtion whether in the point we now treat of, this principle does not admit of ſome exception, and whether we ought not to apprehend the dangers and inconveniencies of blindly following the footſteps of thoſe who have gone before us, ſo as to conſult cuſtom more than reaſon, and the governing our actions rather by what others do than by what they ſhould do; from whence it often happens that an error once eſtabliſhed is handed down from age to age, and becomes almoſt a certain law, from a notion that we ought to act like the reſt of mankind, and follow the example of the greater number.

But human nature is not ſo happy as to have the greateſt number always make the beſt choice, and we too frequently obſerve the contrary.

If we conſult our reaſon ever ſo little, it is eaſy to diſcern that the end which maſters ſhould have in view, is not barely to teach their ſcholars Greek and Latin, to learn them to make exerciſes and verſes, to charge their memory with facts and hiſtorical dates, to draw up ſyllogiſms in form, or to trace lines or figures upon paper. [c] Theſe branches of learning I own are uſeful and valuable, but as means and not as the end; when they conduct us to other things, and not when we ſtop at them; when they ſerve us as preparatives and inſtruments for better knowledge, without which the reſt will be uſeleſs.

ſed ad ſimilitudinem vivimus. . . . Ita, dum unuſquiſque mavult credere, quam judicare, verſat nos et præcipitat traditus per manus error.——Non tam bene cum rebus humanis agitur, ut meliora pluribus placeant: argumentum peſſimi turbA eſt. Senec. lib. de Vit. beat. cap i, & ii.

[c] Liberalia ſtudia hactenus utilia ſunt, ſi præparent ingenium; non detinent.——Rudimenta ſunt noſtra, non opera.——Non diſcere debemus iſta, ſed didiciſſe.——Quid ex his artibus metum demit, cupiditatem eximit, libidinem fraenat?——Nihil apud illas invenies quod vetet timere, vetet cupere: quae quiſquis ignorat, alia ſcit. Senec. Epiſt. 88.

Youth would have cauſe to complain, if they were condemned to ſpend eight or ten of the beſt years of their life in learning, at a great expence and with incredible pains, one or two languages, and ſome other matters of a like nature, which perhaps they would ſeldom have occaſion to uſe. The end of maſters in the long courſe of their ſtudies is to habituate their ſcholars to the ſerious application of mind, to make them love and value the ſciences, and to cultivate in them ſuch a taſte as ſhall make them thirſt after them when they are gone from ſchool; to point out the method of attaining them, and make them thoroughly ſenſible of their uſe and value; and by that means to diſpoſe them for the different employments to which it ſhall pleaſe God to call them. Beſides this, the end of maſters ſhould be to improve their hearts and underſtandings, to protect their innocence, to inſpire them with principles of honour and probity, to train them up to good habits, to correct and ſubdue in them by gentle means the ill inclinations they ſhall be obſerved to have, [d] ſuch as pride, inſolence, an high opinion of themſelves, and a fancy vanity continually employed in leſſening others, a blind ſelf-love, ſolely attentive to its own advantage, a ſpirit of raillery which is pleaſed with offending and inſulting others, an inſolence and ſloth, which renders all the good qualities of the mind uſeleſs.

ARTICLE

[d] In primis inſolentiam et nimiam aeſtimationem ſui tumoremque elatum ſupra caeteros et amorem rerum ſuarum coecum et improvidum, dicacitatem et ſuperbiam contumeliis gaudentem, deſidiam diſſolutionemque ſegnis animi indormientis ſibi. Senec. lib. de vit. beat. cap. 15.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

To study the Character of Children, in order to be able to manage them well.

EDucation, properly speaking, is the art of managing and forming the mind. Of all sciences it is the most difficult, the most extraordinary, and at the same time the most important, but yet not sufficiently studied. To judge of it by common experience, one would say that of all the animals, man is the most untractable. It is the judicious reflection which Xenophon makes in his beautiful preface to the Cyropedia. After he has observed, that we never see flocks of sheep or oxen rebel against their leaders, whereas nothing is more common amongst men; it seems, says he, a natural conclusion from hence, that it is more difficult to command over men than over beasts. But casting his eyes upon Cyrus, who governed so many provinces in peace, and was equally beloved by the people he had conquered and his natural subjects, [e] he concludes, that the fault must arise, not from those who are unwilling to obey, but from the superiors, who know not how to govern.

The same may be said in some measure of those who are intrusted with the education of children. [f] It must be owned that the mind of man, even in his infancy, bears the yoke with impatience, and naturally inclines to what is forbidden. [g] But what we must conclude from hence is, that for this very reason he requires more precaution and address, and that

[e] Οὔτε τῶν ἀδυνάτων. οὔτε τῶν χαλεπῶν ἔργων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχειν, ὧν τις ἐπισταμένως τοῦτο πράττῃ.

[f] Natura comitem nos dedit, humanus animus, et in contrarium atque arduum nitens, sequiturque facilius quam ducitur. Senec. de Clem. lib. i. cap. 24.

[g] Nullum animal morosius est, nullum majore arte tractandum, quam homo: nulli magis arcendum. Ibid. cap. 17.

that he yields more willingly to mildneſs than violence, *Sequitur facilius, quam ducitur.* We ſometimes ſee a high-mettled horſe caper and gnaw the bit, and refuſe to obey the ſpur; it is becauſe he who is upon him has a hard and heavy hand, knows not how to guide him, and checks the bridle when he ought not. Give this horſe, who has a very tender mouth, an underſtanding and ſkilful rider, and he will check all his ſallies, and with a light hand govern him with pleaſure, *generoſi atque nobiles equi melius facili fræno reguntur.*

[h] To compaſs this end, the maſter's firſt care is thoroughly to ſtudy and ſearch into the genius and character of the children, for by this he muſt regulate his conduct. [i] There are ſome who are lazy and remiſs, unleſs they are continually called upon, and others cannot bear to be imperiouſly treated; ſome will be reſtrained by fear, and others on the contrary diſcouraged. We can gain nothing out of ſome, but by mere labour and application; and others only will ſtudy by fits and ſtarts; to endeavour to bring them all to a level, and make them ſubmit to one and the ſame rule, is to attempt to force nature. The prudence of the maſter will conſiſt in keeping a medium, equally removed from the two extremes; for here the ill ſo cloſely borders upon the good, that it is eaſy to miſtake the one for the other, [k] and it is this which renders the management of youth ſo difficult. Too much liberty makes way for licentiouſneſs; and too much conſtraint makes them ſtupid; commendation excites and

[h] Senec. de Clem. lib. i. cap. 24.

[i] Sunt quidam. niſi inſiteris, remiſſi; quidam imperia indignantur: quoſdam continet metus, quoſdam debilitat: alios continuatio extundit, in aliis plus impetus facit. Quint. lib i. cap. 3.

[k] Difficile regimen eſt..... et diligenti obſervatione res indiget. Utrumque enim, et quod extollendum, et quod deprimendum, ſimilibus alitur: facile autem etiam attendentem ſimilia decipiunt. Creſcit licentia ſpiritus, ſervitute comminuitur: aſſurgit, ſi laudatur; et in ſpem ſui bonam adducitur; ſed eadem iſtam inſolentiam generant. Sic itaque inter utrumque regendus eſt, ut mox fraenis utaturus, modo ſtimulis. Senec. de Ira, lib. ii. cap. 21.

and encourages, but it alſo inſpires vanity and preſumption. We muſt therefore keep a juſt temper, and hold an even hand between theſe two inconveniencies, after the example of Iſocrates in the caſe of Ephorus and Theopompus, who were of a very different character. [1] This great maſter, who was as ſucceſsful in his inſtructions as his writings, (as appears from his ſcholars and his books) making uſe of a bridle to give a check to the vivacity of the one, and a ſpur to awaken the ſluggiſhneſs of the other, did not aim at reducing them both to the ſame ſtandard. His end in taking away from the one and adding to the other, was to carry each of them to that perfection, of which their natural capacity would admit.

This model we muſt follow in the education of children. They carry within them the principles, and in a manner the ſeeds of all virtues and vices; and the principal point is thoroughly to ſtudy at firſt their genius and character, to become acquainted with their humour, their diſpoſition and talents; and above all, to diſcover their paſſions and prevailing inclinations; not with a view or expectation of entirely changing their temper, of making him gay, for inſtance, who is naturally grave, or him ſerious who is of a lively and chearful diſpoſition. It is with certain characters, as with perſonal defects, they may be ſomewhat redreſſed, but not abſolutely cured. Now the way of growing acquainted in this manner with children, is to give them great liberty to diſcover their inclinations whilſt young, to let them follow their natural bent, in order to diſcern it

[1] Clariſſimus ille praeceptor Iſocrates, quem non magis libri bene dixiſſe, quam diſcipuli bene docuiſſe teſtantur, dicebat ſe calcaribus in Ephoro, contra autem in Theopompo fraenis uti ſolere. Alterum enim exultantem verborum audacia reprimebat, alterum cunctantem et quaſi verecundantem incitabat. Neque eos ſimiles effecit inter ſe, ſed tantum alteri adſinxit, de altero limavit, ut id confirmaret in utroque, quod utriuſque natura pateretur. Quint. lib. ii. c. 8. Cic. lib. iii. de Orat. n. 36.

it the better; to comply with their little infirmities, to encourage them to let us see them; to observe them whilst they think least of it, especially at their [m] play, when they shew their tempers most; for children are naturally plain and without reserve; but as soon as they think themselves taken notice of, they throw themselves under a restraint, and keep upon their guard.

[n] It is of great moment also, to distinguish the nature of the faults which prevail in youth. In general, we may hope that those wherein age, bad education, ignorance, being seduced, and ill example have any share, are not without remedy; and on the other hand, we may believe that such as are naturally rooted in the mind, and in the corruption of the heart, will be very difficult to be got over, such as double dealing and hypocrisy, flattery, an inclination to tell stories, to sow divisions, to envy and detraction, a disposition to scoff, and especially at the advice given them, and at things sacred, a natural opposition to reason, and, what is a consequence of it, a readiness to take things in a wrong sense.

ARTICLE THE THIRD.

To assume an immediate Authority over the Children.

THIS maxim is of the utmost moment during their whole education, and for all persons who are charged with it. By authority I mean, a certain air and ascendant, which imprints respect, and procures obedience. It is neither age nor stature, the tone of the voice, nor threatning, by which this authority is to be obtained; but an even, firm, moderate disposition of mind, which is always master of

[m] Mores se inter ludendum simplicius detegunt. Quint. lib. i. cap. 3. [n] Lettres de pieté, tom. 1.

of itſelf, is guided only by reaſon, and never acts by fancy or paſſion.

It is this qualification and talent, which keeps all in order, eſtabliſhes an exact diſcipline, ſees that commands are obſerved, ſaves the trouble of reprimands, and prevents almoſt all puniſhments. Now it is from the very firſt entrance upon their government, that parents and maſters ſhould aſſume this aſcendant. If they do not ſeize upon this favourable moment, and poſſeſs themſelves early of this authority, they will have all the pains in the world to do it afterwards, and the child will domineer at laſt. [o] *Animum*, and we may likewiſe ſay, *Puerum rege, qui, niſi paret, imperat.* This is literally true, and ſcarce to be believed, if a conſtant experience did not every day confirm it. There is deep rooted in the heart of man a love of independency, which diſcloſes itſelf from our childhood, and even at the breaſt. [p] What mean thoſe cries, thoſe tears, the threatening geſture of the eyes ſparkling with rage, in an infant, when reſolved to gain his point with all his force, or inflamed with jealouſy againſt one another? "I have ſeen, ſays [q] St. Auguſtin, a child burning "with jealouſy. He could not yet talk, but with a "pale countenance could caſt a furious look at ano"ther child, who was ſucking with him at the ſame "breaſt." *Vidi ego et expertus ſum zelantem parvulum. Nondum loquebatur, et intuebatur pallidus amaro aſpectu collactaneum ſuum.*

Here we have the time and moment pointed out for ſubduing this bad inclination in a child, by accuſtoming him from the cradle to controul his deſires, not to purſue his own fancies, but, in a word, to ſubmit and obey. If we never gave children what they cried for, they would learn to go without it, nor

[o] Horat. Sat. II. lib. 1.

[p] Flendo petere, etiam quod noxie daretur: indignari acriter. . . non ad nutum voluntatis obtemperantibus: feriendo nocere niti, quantum poteſt, quia non obeditur imperiis, quibus pernicioſe obediretur. Ita imbecillitas membrorum infantilium innocens eſt, non animus infantium. S. Aug. Conf. lib. i. cap. 7. [q] Ibid.

nor would there be so much bawling and uneasiness before they were brought to temper, and consequently they would not be so troublesome to themselves or others, as they are, for want of being brought up in this manner from their infancy.

When I speak thus, I do not mean absolutely, that no indulgence should be shewn to children; I am very far from such a disposition. I say only, we must not give them what they cry for; and if they redouble their importunity to obtain it, we must let them know, that they are expressly refused it for that very reason; and this must be held as an indisputable maxim, that after they have once been refused any thing, we must resolve never to grant it to their crying or importuning, unless we have a mind to teach them to become impatient and peevish by rewarding them for their peevishness and impatience.

We see with some parents, that the children never ask for any thing at table, whatever is set before them, but take all that is given them with pleasure and thankfulness; in other houses, they ask for every thing they see, and must be served before all the company. Now, whence arises this remarkable difference, but from the different education they have had? The younger children are, the less their irregular desires should be satisfied. The less reason they have, the more necessary it is for them to submit to absolute power, and the direction of those in whose hands they are. When once they have taken this turn, and custom has subdued their will, they are cured for the rest of their lives, and easily learn to obey.

[r] *Adeo in teneris consuescere multum est.*

What I have said of children in their childhood may be applied to them at any other age. The first care of a scholar, who is put under a new master

[r] Geor. lib. ii. v. 272.

is to ſtudy and ſound him. There is nothing he does not attempt, he ſpares no induſtry or artifice to get the better of him if he can. When he ſees all his pains and cunning is to no purpoſe, and that the maſter calmly and quietly oppoſes them with a gentle and reaſonable reſolution, which always ends in making himſelf obeyed, he then yields, and chearfully ſubmits; and this kind of little war, or rather ſkirmiſh, where on both ſides they have tried each other's forces, is happily concluded with a peace and a good underſtanding, which make them eaſy all the reſt of the time they are to live together.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH.

To make one's ſelf beloved and feared.

THE reſpect upon which the authority I have ſpoke of is founded, includes two things, fear and love, which lend each other a mutual aſſiſtance, and are the two great ſprings and hinges of all government in general, and of the conduct of children in particular. As they are of an age, wherein reaſon, inſtead of having the ſuperiority, ſcarce begins to ſhew itſelf, it is requiſite that fear ſhould ſometimes be called in to its aſſiſtance, and take its place; but if it comes alone, and the allurement of pleaſure does not follow cloſe at its heels, it is not long regarded, and its inſtructions produce but a ſlight effect, which the hope of impunity ſoon removes. Hence it comes to paſs, that, in point of education, the greateſt ſkill lies in knowing how to blend diſcreetly together a force, which ſhall keep children within due bounds without diſcouragement, and a mildneſs which ſhall gain upon them without indulging them too much. *Sit rigor, ſed non*

* Timor, non diuturnus magiſter officii. Cic. Philip. ii. n. 9. Imbecillis eſt pudoris magiſter timor, qui ſi quando paululum aberraverit, ſtatim ſpe impunitatis exultat. Id. in Hortenſ.

non exasperans; sit amor, sed non emolliens [t]. On one hand, the master's mildness removes whatever is hard and austere from his office of command, and blunts the point of it. *Hebetat aciem imperii*, as Seneca beautifully expresses it. On the other hand, his prudent severity fixes and restrains the lightness and inconstancy of an age, which as yet admits but of little reflection, and is incapable of governing itself. It is therefore this happy mixture of mildness and severity, of love and fear, which establishes the master's authority, which is the soul of government, and inspires the scholars with respect, which is the firmest band of obedience and submission; in such sort however, that kindness and love prevail, and are most frequent on both sides.

But some will say, though this manner of governing children by kindness and gentleness is easy perhaps to a private tutor, is it practicable, in the case of a principal of a college, a regent of a class, or a master, who has a great many scholars in one common chamber? and how is it possible, in all these places, to keep up an exact discipline, without which no good is to be expected, and at the same time to gain the love of the scholars? I own, that nothing is more difficult in this circumstance, than to keep up a just medium betwixt too great severity, and an excessive indulgence; but the thing is not impossible, since we see it practised by persons who have the uncommon talent of making themselves feared, and still more beloved. The whole depends upon the behaviour of the masters. If they are such as they should be, their success will answer their desires. Quintilian has pointed out to us the qualities of a good master, and how he may gain the affection of his scholars. The passage is very beautiful, and contains admirable advice. I shall give it almost as it stands.

As it is a general principle, that love is to be procured only by love, *si vis amari ama*. The first thing

[t] S. Greg. Pap.

thing [u] Quintilian requires, is, "That a master "should, above all things, assume a fatherly affec- "tion for his scholars; and that he should look up- "on himself as in the place of those, who com- "mitted them to him; whence he must conse- "quently borrow the gentleness, patience, and sen- "timents of kindness and tenderness natural to "them."

[x] "That he be not vicious himself, nor allow of "vice in others; that he be severe without rough- "ness, and gentle without indulgence, lest he should "be hated for the one, and despised for the other."

[y] "That he be not easily carried away with an- "ger and passion; but, at the same time, does not "shut his eyes to such faults as deserve to be cor- "rected."

[z] "That in his manner of teaching he be plain, "patient and exact, and rely more upon good or- "der and method, and his own assiduity, than ex- "cessive pains in his pupils; that he take pleasure "in answering all the questions they ask him; and "that he be even beforehand with them in asking "questions of them, if they do not ask him."

[a] "That he do not refuse, upon proper occasi- "ons, to give them the praises they deserve; but "withal, that he be not too lavish in bestowing "them. For as the one discourages, the other in- "spires a dangerous security."

[b] "If at any time he is obliged to reprimand

[u] Sumat ante omnia parentis erga discipulos suos animum, ac succedere se in eorum locum, à quibus sibi liberi traduntur, existimet.

[x] Ipse nec habeat vitia, nec ferat. Non austeritas ejus tristis, non dissoluta sit comitas: ne inde odium, hinc contemptus oriatur.

[y] Minime iracundus, nec tamen eorum, quae emendanda erunt, dissimulator.

[z] Simplex in docendo, patiens laboris, assiduus potius quam immodicus. Interrogantibus libenter respondeat: non interrogantes percontetur ultro.

[a] In laudandis discipulorum dictionibus nec malignus, nec effusus: quia res altera taedium laboris, altera securitatem parit.

[b] In emendando, quae corrigenda erunt, non acerbus, minimeque contumeliosus. Nam id quidem multos à proposito studendi fugat, quod quidem sic objurgant, quasi oderint.

" them, that he be neither ſevere nor ſhocking. " For what gives many an averſion to ſtudy is, " their maſters rebuke them with as gloomy an air " as if they were the objects of their hatred."

[b] " That he ſpeak often to them of virtue, and " always with high encomiums; that he lay it con- " ſtantly before them under an advantageous and " agreeable form, as the moſt excellent of all bleſ- " ſings, and moſt worthy a reaſonable man, and " moſt honourable to him, as a quality abſolutely " neceſſary to procure him the affection and eſteem " of all mankind, and as the only means of being " truly happy. The more frequently he puts them " in mind of their duty, the leſs he will be obliged " to puniſh them. Let him every day ſay ſome- " thing to them which they may carry away with " them, and be the better for. Though what they " read may furniſh them with abundance of good " examples, what he ſays to them by word of " mouth has a very different force, and produces a " quite different effect, eſpecially if it comes from a " maſter, whom children that are well brought up " both love and honour. For it cannot be imagi- " ned, how eaſily we are led to copy after thoſe of " whom we have a favourable opinion."

Theſe are the qualifications which Quintilian requires in a maſter of rhetoric; (and they equally concern all ſuch as are intruſted with the inſtruction of youth,) to the end, ſays he, that as in this [c] claſs there are uſually a great number of ſcholars, [d] the wiſ-

dom

[b] Plurimus ei de honeſto ac bono ſit ſermo. Nam quo ſaepius monuerit, hoc rarius caſtigabit . . . Ipſe aliquid, imo multa quotidie dicat, quae ſecum audita referant. Licet enim ſatis exemplorum ad imitandum ex lectione ſuppeditet, tamen viva ila, ut dicitur, vox alit plenius, praecipiuque praeceptoris, quem diſcipuli, ſi modo recte ſunt inſtituti, et amant, et verentur. Vix autem dici poteſt, quanto libentius imitemur eos, quibus favemus — This paſſage may be applied to the caſe of manners.

[c] They were ſeveral years upon the ſtudy of rhetoric; whence the ſcholars in the ſame claſs might be of different ages.

[d] Major adhibenda tum cura eſt, ut et teneriores annos ab injuria ſanctitas docentis cuſtodiat, et ferociores a licentia gravitas deterreat.

dom of the master may preserve those, who are very young, from being corrupted, and his gravity lay a restraint upon the licentiousness of such as a more advanced age renders more difficult to be governed. For it is not enough, that he be a man of probity himself, unless he also knows how to keep his scholars in order by an exact discipline. We need make no doubt, but a master of this character will make himself both beloved and feared. But a great many think of taking a shorter and surer road, which is that of correction and reproof. It must be owned that it seems more easy, and is less troublesome to masters, than that of gentleness and insinuation, but at the same time far less successful. For we scarce ever arrive, by correction, at the only true end of education, which is to convince the mind, and inspire a sincere love of virtue; which I proceed to treat in the following articles.

ARTICLE THE FIFTH.

Of CORRECTION.

AS this article is of the utmost importance in education, I shall dwell somewhat longer upon it than the rest, and divide it into two parts. In the first, I shall point out the inconveniencies and dangers of the use of the rod: In the second, I shall lay down the rules we ought to follow in this kind of correction.

I. *The Inconveniencies and Dangers of Correction.*

The most common and shortest way of correcting children is by the rod, which is almost the only remedy that is known or made use of by those who

deterreat. Neque vero satis est summam praestare abstinentiam, nisi disciplinae severitate convenientium, quoque ad se mores astringantis-

are intrusted with the education of youth. But this remedy becomes often a more dangerous evil than those they would cure, if imploy'd out of season, or beyond measure. For besides that the corrections of the rod and the lash, we are now speaking of, have something indecent, mean, and servile in them, they have nothing in themselves to remedy any fault committed, nor is it likely that such a correction may become useful to a child, if the shame of suffering for having done ill has not a greater power over his mind, than the punishment itself. Besides, these corrections give an incurable aversion to the things we should endeavour to make them love. They do not change the humour, nor work any reformation in the natural disposition, but only restrain it for a time, and serve to make the passions break out with more violence, when they are at liberty. They often stupify the mind, and harden it in evil. [e] For a child, that has so little honour as to be insensible to reproof, will accustom himself to blows like a slave, and grow obstinate against punishment.

Must we therefore conclude, that we ought never to make use of this sort of correction? That is not my meaning. For I am far from condemning in general the use of a rod, after what has been said of it in several places of scripture, and especially in the book of proverbs. [f] *He that spareth the rod hateth his son, but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes.*——[g] *Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child, but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him.* The Holy Scripture, by these words and others of a like nature, may perhaps design punishment in general, and condemn the mistaken tenderness and blind indulgence of parents, who shut their eyes upon the vices of their children, and thereby render

[e] Si cui tam est mens illiberalis, ut objurgatione non corrigatur: is etiam ad plagas, ut pessima quaeque mancipia, durabitur. Quint. lib. i. cap. 3.

[f] Prov. xiii. 24. [g] Prov. xxii. 15.

der them incorrigible. But supposing that the word *rod* is to be taken literally, it is very probable that this correction is advised for such dispositions as are rude, gross, indocile, untractable, and insensible to reproof and honour. For can we imagine, that the scripture, which abounds in charity and gentleness, and is so full of compassion for the weaknesses of a more advanced age, that the scripture should advise to treat children with severity, when faults are frequently rather the effects of levity than wickedness?

I therefore conclude, that the punishments we are here speaking of may be used, but ought to be employ'd very seldom, and for faults of consequence. These corrections are like the violent remedies, which are used in violent diseases; they purge, but alter the constitution, and wear out the organs. A mind conducted by fear is always the weaker for it. [h] Whoever therefore has the direction of others, if he would heal, should first use gentle remonstrances, try what he can do by persuasion, make honesty and justice grateful if possible, and inspire an hatred for vice, and a passion for virtue. If this first attempt does not succeed, he may pass to stronger methods and sharper reproaches; and lastly, when all this has been employed to no purpose, he may then proceed to corrections, but by degrees, still leaving the hopes of pardon in view, and reserving the greatest for extreme faults, and those he despairs of.

Let us compare a man of this wisdom and moderation, with a master that is hasty, passionate, and violent, such as Orbilius was, whom his scholar Horace

[h] Seneca, after reporting at large the behaviour of a discreet physician towards his patient, makes an application of it to governors thus. Ita legum præsidem civitatisque rectorem decet, quamdiu potest verbis, et his mollioribus, ingenia curare; ut facienda suadeat, cupiditatemque honesti et æqui concipiet animis, faciatque vitiorum odium, pretium virtutum; transeat deinde ad tristiorem orationem, qua moneat adhuc et exprobret: novissime ad pœnas, et has adhuc leves et revocabiles decurrat: ultima supplicia sceleribus ultimis ponat, ut nemo pereat, nisi quem perire etiam perentis interfit. De Ira, lib. i. cap. 5.

race ſtyles [i] *Plagoſius;* or with a perſon intruſted by Cicero with the education of his children, who was paſſionate to a degree of madneſs. [k] This was a ſlave who had been made free, that Tully highly valued in other reſpects, and in whom he repoſed an entire confidence. *Dionyſius quidem mihi in amoribus eſt. Pueri autem aiunt eum* FURENTER IRASCI. *Sed homo nec doctior, nec ſanctior fieri poteſt.* For my own part, I do not here diſcern either good underſtanding or prudence in Tully. Prejudiced in favour of this freedman, he does not ſeem to have any regard to the charge againſt him, as if ſuch a fault could be covered by learning, or ſubſiſt with the quality of a man of very great probity, *ſed homo nec doctior, nec ſanctior fieri poteſt.* He was afterwards undeceived, when that cowardly and perfidious ſlave had betray'd him.

[l] Which of the two maſters, ſays Seneca, ſhall we moſt eſteem? He who ſtrives to correct his ſcholars by prudent advice and motives of honour, or another who ſhall laſh them to pieces for not repeating their leſſon as they ought, and faults of a like nature? If we undertook to manage a horſe, could it be done by beating him in this violent manner? Or would it not be a certain way of making him apt to ſtart and fling, and to be unruly and reſtive? An able groom can break him better, by careſſing him with a gentle hand; and why muſt men be treated with more cruelty than beaſts?

II. *Rules to be obſerved in Correction.*

1. It is certain, that if children are early accuſtomed

[i] A laſher. One that is given to blows and whipping. Epi. lib. 2. [k] Ad Att. Ep. 1. lib. 6.

[l] Uter praeceptor liberalibus ſtudiis dignior, qui excurrificabit diſcipulos, ſi memoria illis non conſtiterit, aut, ſi parum agilis in legendo oculus hæſerit: an qui monitionibus et verecundia emendare ac docere malit? Num quidnam æquum eſt, gravius homini et deditum perari, quam imperatur animalibus mutis? Atqui equum non crebris verberibus extendi et domandi peritus magiſter. Fiet enim formidoloſus et contumax, niſi eum tactu blandiente permulſeris. Senec. de Clem. lib. 1. cap. 16.

ed to submission and obedience by the steady behaviour of parents and masters, and that care is taken never to depart from this steadiness, till such time as fear and respect are grown familiar to them, and there appears not the least shadow of constraint in their submission and obedience, this happy habit contracted from their most tender years, will almost spare the necessity of any future punishments. What usually obliges us to have recourse to that extremity, is the blind indulgence given to children at first, which makes their faults almost incorrigible, because neglected in their birth.

2. Nothing is of greater consequence than rightly to discern what faults deserve to be punished, and what should be pardoned. In the number of the latter, I place all such as happen through inadvertency or ignorance, and which cannot pass for the effects of malice and a bad intention, as only those which arise from the will can make us culpable. [m] An officer of Augustus, as he was one day walking out with him, was so frighted at the sight of a wild boar that made directly towards them, that he saved himself by exposing the Emperor to danger. The fault was considerable, but as it was not designed, Augustus was satisfied with turning it into a jest. *Rem non minimi periculi, quia tamen fraus aberat, in jocum vertit.*

I place in the same rank all the faults of levity and childhood, which will be infallibly corrected by time and age.

Neither do I think we ought to use the correction of a rod for such failures as children may commit in learning to read, write, or dance; or even in learning the languages, Latin, Greek, *&c.* except in certain cases which I shall mention. Other punishments should be contrived for such faults, as do not seem to proceed from any ill disposition of the heart, or an inclination to shake off the yoke of authority.

3. It is a great merit in masters, to be able to find out different kinds and degrees of punishments to correct

[m] Sueton. in vit. Aug. c. 67.

correct their scholars. It depends upon them to fix an idea of shame and disgrace upon a thousand things which are indifferent of themselves, and only become corrections by the ideas affixed to them. I know a school of poor children, where one of the greatest and most sensible punishments that is inflicted upon such as offend, is to make them sit on a separate bench with their hats on, when any considerable person comes into the school. 'Tis a torment to them to remain in that state of humiliation, whilst the rest are standing and uncovered. A thousand things of the like nature may be invented, and I mention this instance, only to shew that the whole depends upon the industry of the master. There are children of quality, which have been kept in as much awe through an apprehension of going without shoes, as others of being whipt.

4. The only vice in my opinion, which deserves a severe treatment, is obstinacy in mischief; but then this obstinacy must be voluntary, certain and strongly marked. We must not give this name to faults of levity and inconstancy, into which children, who are naturally forgetful and heedless, may frequently fall without giving room to imagine, that they arise from badness of disposition. I suppose that a child has told a lie. If it was through a violent fear, the fault is much the less, and deserves only to be gently reprimanded. If it is voluntary, deliberate and obstinately persisted in, it is then a fault indeed, and certainly preserves to be punished. Yet I do not think that for the first time we should make use of the correction of the rod, which is the last extremity children should be exposed to. [n] Will a father of good understanding, says Seneca, disinherit a son for his first fault, how considerable soever it may be? No doubt

[n] Numquid aliquis sanus filium ex prima offensa exhaeredat? Ni magnae et multae injuriae patientiam evicerint, nisi plus est quod t met quam quod damnat, non accedit ad decretorium stilum. Multa a te tentat, quibus dubiam indolem, et pejore loco jam positam revoce Simul deplorata est, ultima experitur. Senec. de clem. lib. i. cap.

doubtleſs. He will firſt uſe his utmoſt endeavours to reclaim him, and to correct if poſſible his bad diſpoſition: Nor will he proceed to ſuch an extremity, till the caſe is grown deſperate and his patience quite worn out. A maſter muſt follow the like conduct in proportion.

5. I would ſay the ſame of indocility and diſobedience when obſtinately perſiſted in, and attended with an air of contempt and rebellion.

6. There is another ſort of obſtinacy, which relates to ſtudy, and may be called an obſtinate ſloth, which uſually occaſions maſters a great deal of trouble; when children will learn nothing unleſs they are compelled to it by force. There is nothing I own more perplexing or difficult to manage than ſuch diſpoſitions, eſpecially when inſenſibility and indifference are joined to ſloth, as is very common. In this caſe a maſter ſtands in need of all his prudence and induſtry to render ſtudy if not amiable to his ſcholar, at leaſt ſupportable, by mixing force with mildneſs. threatnings with promiſes, and puniſhments with reward. And when all has been employed to no purpoſe, we may then come to correction, but not make it too common and habitual; for then the remedy is worſe than the diſeaſe.

7. When it is judged neceſſary to uſe correction, the time and manner of uſing it ſhould be conſidered. [o] Diſeaſes of the ſoul require to be treated at leaſt with as much skilfulneſs and addreſs, as thoſe of the body. Nothing is more dangerous than a remedy miſapplied and ill timed. A wiſe phyſician waits till the patient is able to bear it, and with that view watches the favourable moments for adminiſtring it.

The firſt rule therefore is never to puniſh a child the moment he commits a fault, for fear of exaſperating him, and cauſing him to commit new ones by urging him to extremes, but to allow him time for recol-

[o] Ut corporum, ita animorum, molliter vitia tractanda ſunt. Senec. de Benef. lib. vii. cap. 30.

reflection, to reflect upon what he has done, and grow sensible that he has been to blame, and at the same time that his punishment is both just and necessary, and thus put him in a condition to be the better for it.

The master again must never punish with passion or in anger, especially if the fault personally regards himself, such as want of respect or any abusive word. p He must call to mind what Socrates said excellently well to a slave, that had misbehaved towards him. *I would treat thee as thou deservest, was I not in a passion.* q It were to be wished, that all persons who have authority over others were like the laws, which punish without anger or emotion, and out of the sole motive of justice and the public good. If the master discovers himself to be ever so little moved by a change of countenance, or alteration of the tone of his voice, the scholar soon perceives it, and discovers that this flame breaks out not from a zeal for duty, but the heat of passion. And this suffices to render the punishment entirely fruitless; because children, young as they are, know that reason only has a right to correct them.

As punishment should seldom be administred, all possible care is required to make it beneficial. Let a child see, for instance, that you have done all you could to avoid coming to this extreme; seem to be concerned that you are under a necessity of exercising it against your inclination; talk before him with other persons, how unhappy they are, who are so void of reason and honour, as to stand in need of being corrected; withdraw your usual marks of friendship, till you perceive it necessary to console him; make this chastisement public or private, according as you shall judge it most useful for the child,

p Ad coercitionem errantium, irato castigatore non est opus —— Inde est quod Socrates servo ait: Caederem te, nisi irascerer. Seneca lib. i. de ira, cap 15.

q Prohibenda maxime est ira in puniendo. —— optandumque ut ii, qui praesunt aliis, legum similes sint, quæ ad puniendum acquitate ducuntur, non iracundia. Cic. de offic. lib. i. n. 89.

child either to be exposed to shame, or made sensible that it is spared him; reserve this public shame as a last remedy; make use sometimes of a reasonable person to talk with him, and tell him what is not yet proper for you to tell him yourself; one who may cure him of his false shame, dispose him to submit, and to whom the child in the heat of his passion may open his heart more freely, than he durst do before you; but be very careful that you never demand any other submissions than such as are reasonable and necessary. Endeavour to bring him to a self-conviction, and that it only remains for you to mitigate the punishment which he has consented to. These general rules must be applied by every master, according as his particular occasions require.

But if the child that is to be punished is neither to be moved by a sense of honour or shame, care must be taken that in the first correction he may feel a sharp and lasting impression, that fear at least, for want of a more noble motive, may keep him to his duty.

I have no need to take notice, that a box on the ear, blows, or other treatments of the like sort, are absolutely not to be allowed masters. They should never punish, but in order to correct, and passion will not correct at all. Let any one ask himself, whether he can coolly, and without emotion, give a boy a box on the ear; and sure[r] anger, which is in itself a vice, is a very improper remedy for curing the vices of others.

r Cum ira delictum animi sit, non oportet peccata corrigere peccando. Senec. lib. i. de ira, cap. 15.

ARTICLE THE SIXTH.

Of REPROOFS.

THIS matter is of no leſs importance than that of puniſhments, as the uſe of them is more frequent, and the conſequences may be as dangerous.

To make reproofs uſeful, there are in my opinion three things principally to be conſidered, the ſubject, the time, and the manner of making them.

I. *The Subject of a Reprimand.*

It is a very common miſtake to uſe reprimand for the ſlighteſt faults, and ſuch as are almoſt unavoidable in children, which takes away all their force, and fruſtrates all their advantage. For they accuſtom themſelves to them, are no longer affected with them, and even make a jeſt of them. I do not forget what I have already quoted from Quintilian, that the ſureſt way for a maſter to avoid puniſhing children often, is frequently to admoniſh them, *quo ſæpius monuerit, hoc rarius caſtigabit.* But I make a great difference between admonitions and reprimands. The firſt favours leſs of the authority of a maſter, than the affection of a friend. They are always attended with an air and tone of gentleneſs, which gives them a more agreeable reception; and for this reaſon they may more frequently be uſed.

But as reprimands always ſhock ſelf love, and often aſſume an air and language of ſeverity, they ſhould be reſerved for more conſiderable faults, and conſequently be more ſeldom uſed.

II. *The Time of Reprimanding.*

The maſter's prudence conſiſts in carefully ſtudying and watching for the favourable moment, when the mind of the child ſhall be moſt diſpoſed to improve by correction. This is what Virgil ſo elegant

ly calls, [s] *Molles aditus, mollissima fandi tempora;* and wherein he places the address of a negotiation, *Quis rebus dexter modus.*

Do not therefore reprimand a child, says M. de Fenelon, in his first emotion, or your own. If you do it in yours, he will find that you have been governed by humour and inclination, and not by reason and friendship, and you will inevitably lose your authority. If you chide him immediately, his mind is not at liberty enough to own his fault, to conquer his passion, and perceive the importance of your advice. You likewise expose the child to losing the respect he owes you. Shew him always, that you are master of yourself; and nothing will let him see it better than your patience. Watch a favourable opportunity for several days, to time a correction well, if necessary.

What would any one say, says [t] M. Nicole, speaking of the duty of brotherly correction, what would they say of a surgeon, who, in treating an imposthume, should surprise the patient, by giving him a blow with his fist upon the part affected, and that, before the imposthume was sufficiently ripened by preparatory remedies, to be lanced, or the sick person disposed for so painful an operation? We should doubtless say, he was a very imprudent and unskilful man. It is easy to apply this comparison to the subject I am treating of.

III. *The Manner of Reprimanding.*

The same M. Nicole, in the same passage, shews how difficult it is to give corrections and reprimands. The cause of this difficulty is, because they set before men what they care not for seeing, and attack self-love in the deepest and most sensible part, where it never gives way without great reluctance and opposition. We love ourselves as we are, and would have reason for doing so. Thus we are careful

[s] Æn. lib. iv. ver. 393 et 425.
[t] Evang. du Mardi de la troisieme Sem. de Car.

ful to juſtify ourſelves in our faults by various deceitful colours; and it muſt not ſeem ſtrange, that men ſhould be diſpleaſed with being contradicted and condemned, as it is an attack at the ſame time upon the reaſon which is deceived, and the heart which is corrupted.

This is properly the foundation of the care and caution which is required in correction and reprimand. We muſt leave nothing for a child to diſcern in us, that may hinder the effect of it. [u] We muſt avoid raiſing his ill-will by the ſeverity of our expreſſions, his anger by exaggerations, or his pride by expreſſions of contempt.

We muſt not heap upon him ſuch a multitude of reproofs, as may deprive him of the hope of being able to correct the faults he is reproached with. It might be adviſeable likewiſe not to tell a child his fault without adding ſome means of amending it. For correction, when it is ſharp, is apt to occaſion chagrin and diſcouragement.

We muſt avoid giving him any occaſion to think that we are prejudiced; leſt he ſhould thence take occaſion to defend the faults laid to his charge, and to attribute our admonitions to our prejudice.

Neither muſt there be any room left for him to believe, that they are occaſioned by any intereſt or particular paſſion, or indeed by any other motive than that of his good.

[x] We are ſometimes obliged, ſays Tully, to raiſe our voice a little in correction, and to uſe ſomewhat ſharper expreſſions, but this ſhould be very ſeldom; as phyſicians make uſe of certain remedies only in extremities. We ſhould beſides be careful to avoid all anger and ſeverity in theſe reproaches, for they can be of no ſervice, and the child ſhould ſee, that whatever ſharpneſs we expreſs in our reproofs, it is with regret, and only for his good.

We may conclude, that reprimands have had all the ſucceſs that can be expected from them, when they

[u] Omnis animadverſio et caſtigatio c ntumelia vacare debet. Cic. lib. i. de offic. n. 88. [x] Ibid. n. 136, 137.

they bring a boy to a ſincere confeſſion of his faults, to deſire that he may be told of them, and to receive the inſtructions that are given him with docility. [x] He has already made a great progreſs, who is deſirous of doing it. It is a certain mark of a ſolid change, to have our eyes open to the imperfections which before were unknown to us; as it is a reaſon to hope well of a ſick perſon, when he begins to be ſenſible of his ailment.

[y] There are ſome children of ſo happy and ſo tractable a temper, that it ſuffices to ſhew them what they muſt do, and without ſtanding in need of long inſtructions from a maſter, they ſhall ſeize upon what is good and honeſt at the firſt ſignal, and give themſelves up intirely to it, *Rapacia virtutis ingenia.* [z] One would think they had in them ſome ſecret ſparks of every virtue, which, in order to unfold themſelves and catch fire, require only a ſlight blaſt, a meer hint. [a] Theſe characters are exceeding rare, and ſeldom want any guides.

[b] There are others, who have indeed a pretty good capacity, but ſeem at firſt of a ſlow apprehenſion, either from want of taking due pains, or becauſe they have been brought up in too tender a manner, and educated in an entire ignorance of their duty, have contracted a great number of ill habits which are like a ruſt difficult to be rubbed off. A maſter is abſolutely neceſſary to boys of this character, and ſeldom fails of conquering theſe faults, when he ſtrives to do it with mildneſs and patience.

A a 3 ARTICLE

[x] Senec. Epiſt. 71. Magna pars eſt profectûs, velle proficere.

[y] Felix ingenium illis fuit, et ſalutaria in tranſitu rapuit. . . . In ea quae tradi ſolent, perveniunt ſine longo magiſterio; et honeſta complexi ſunt, cum primum audierunt. Senec. Epiſt. 95.

[z] Omnium honeſtarum rerum ſemina animi gerunt, quae admonitione excitantur; non aliter quam ſcintilla flatu levi adjuta ignem ſuum explicat. Senec. Epiſt. 94.

[a] Huc illuc fraenis leniter motis flectendus eſt paucis animus ſuis rector optimus. Senec. lib. v. de B nef. cap. 25.

[b] Ineſt interim animis voluntas bona, ſed torpet, modo deliciis ac ſitu, modo otii inſcientia. Ibid.

ARTICLE THE SEVENTH.

To reason with Children; to prompt them by the Sense of Honour; to make use of Praises, Rewards, and Caresses.

I HAVE already insinuated these methods, which should be the most common, and are always the most effectual.

I call reasoning with the boys, the acting always without passion and humour, and giving them the reason of our behaviour toward them. It is requisite, says M. de Fenelon, to pursue all possible means to make the things you require of them agreeable to the children. Have you any thing displeasing to propose to them? Let them know, that the pain will soon be followed by pleasure; shew them always the usefulness of what you teach them; let them see its advantage in regard to the commerce of the world and the duties of particular stations. This, tell them, is to enable you to do well what you are one day to do; it is to form your judgment, it is to accustom you to reason well upon all the affairs of life. It is requisite to shew them a solid and agreeable end, which may support them in their labour, and never pretend to oblige them to the performance by a dry, absolute authority.

If the case requires punishment or chiding, it will be proper to appeal to themselves as judges to make them thoroughly sensible of the necessity of using them in that manner, and to demand of them whether they think it possible to act otherwise. I have been sometimes surprised in conjunctures, where the just but grievous severity of their correction, or public reprimand, might have provoked and exasperated the scholars, to see the impression on the account I gave them of my conduct has made upon them, and how they have blamed themselves, and allowed that I could not treat them otherwise

otherwiſe. For I owe the juſtice to moſt part of the boys I have brought up, to own here, that I have almoſt always found them reaſonable, though not exempt from faults. Children are capable of hearing reaſon ſooner than is imagined, and they love to be treated like reaſonable creatures from their infancy. We ſhould keep up in them this good opinion and ſenſe of honour, upon which they pique themſelves, and make uſe of it, as much as poſſible, as an univerſal means to bring them to the end we propoſe.

They are likewiſe very much affected with praiſe. It is our duty to make an advantage of this weakneſs, and to endeavour to improve it into a virtue in them. We ſhould run a riſk of diſcouraging them, were we never to praiſe them when they do well; and though we have reaſon to apprehend, that commendations may inflame their vanity, we muſt ſtrive to uſe them for their encouragement, without making them conceited. For of all the motives that affect a reaſonable ſoul, there are none more powerful than honour and ſhame; and when we have once brought children to be ſenſible of it, we have gained every thing. They find a pleaſure in being commended and eſteemed, eſpecially by their parents, and thoſe upon whom they depend. If, therefore, we careſs them and commend them when they do well, if we look coldly and contemptibly upon them when they do ill, and religiouſly obſerve this kind of behaviour towards them; this different treatment will have a much greater effect upon their minds, than either threats or puniſhments.

But to make this practiſe uſeful, there are two things to be obſerved. Firſt, when the parents or maſters are diſpleaſed with a child, and look coldly upon him, it is requiſite that all thoſe who are about him ſhould treat him in the ſame manner, and that he never finds any conſolation in the careſſes of governeſſes or ſervants. For then he is forced to ſubmit, and naturally conceives an averſion for the faults

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which draw upon him a general contempt. In the second place, when parents or masters have shewn themselves displeased, they must be careful, contrary to the common custom, not to resume immediately the same chearfulness of countenance, or shew the same fondness to the child, as usual; for he will learn not to mind it, when he knows that chiding is a storm of little or no duration, which he need only suffer to pass by. They must not therefore be restored to favour without difficulty, and their pardon be deferred till their application to do better has proved the sincerity of their repentance.

Rewards for the children are not to be neglected; and though they are not any more than praises, the principal motive upon which they should act, yet both of them may become useful to virtue, and be a powerful incentive to it. Is it not an advantage for them to know, that the doing well will in every respect be their advantage, and that it is as well their interest as duty to execute faithfully what is required of them, either in point of study or behaviour?

But there is a choice to be made of rewards; and it is a certain rule in this point, though not always sufficiently considered, that we ought never to propose under this notion either ornaments and fine clothes, or delicacies in eating, or any other things of that kind; and the reason of it is very evident, because, in promising them such things by way of reward, we teach them to look upon them as good and desirable in themselves, and thereby instil into them a value for what they ought to despise: And the same may be said of money, the desire of which is so much the more dangerous, as it is more general and apt to increase with age; except as it may be employed in good uses, it may also be looked upon as an instrument of virtue, and a means of doing good; under which notion they should be taught to consider it. I have seen a great many scholars, who of themselves have divided their money into three parts, one of which was designed for

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the poor, another to buy books, and the third for their diverſions.

Children may be rewarded by innocent plays intermixed with ſome induſtry; by walking abroad, where the converſation may be advantageous; by little preſents which may be a kind of prizes, ſuch as pictures or prints; by books neatly bound; by the ſight of ſuch things as are curious and uncommon in arts and trades; as for inſtance, the manner of making tapeſtry at the Gobelins, of melting glaſs, painting, and a thouſand other things of that kind. The induſtry of parents and maſters conſiſts in the invention of ſuch rewards, in varying them, and making them deſired and expected; keeping always a certain order, and beginning conſtantly with the moſt ſimple, in order to make them laſt as long as poſſible. But in general they muſt exactly perform what they have promiſed, and make it an indiſpenſable point of honour and duty never to diſappoint the children.

ARTICLE THE EIGHTH.

To accuſtom Children to a ſtrict Obſervance of Truth.

ONE of the vices we muſt carefully correct in children is lying, for which we cannot excite in them too great an averſion and horror. It muſt always be repreſented to them as mean, baſe, and ſhameful; as a vice which intirely diſhonours a man, diſgraces him, and places him in the moſt contemptible light, and is not to be ſuffered even in ſlaves. I have elſewhere ſpoke of the manner of puniſhing children, that are ſubject to this fault.

Diſſimulation, cunning, and bad excuſes, come very near it, and infallibly lead to it. A child ſhould be told that he ſhould rather be pardoned for

for twenty faults, than a bare diſſimulation of th truth, for hiding one only by bad excuſes. Whe he frankly confeſſes what he has done, fail not t commend his ingenuity, and pardon what he ha done amiſs, without ever reproaching him with it or ſpeaking to him of it afterwards. If this con feſſion becomes frequent, and grows into a habi only to evade puniſhment, the maſter muſt hav leſs regard to it, becauſe it would then be no mor than a trick, and not proceed from ſimplicity an ſincerity.

Every thing that the children ſee or hear fro their parents or maſters, muſt conduce to mak them in love with truth, and give them a contemp for all double dealing. Thus they muſt never mak uſe of any falſe pretences to appeaſe them, or t perſuade them to do as they would have them, o either promiſe or threaten any thing without thei being ſenſible that the performance will ſoon fo low. For by this means they will be taught decei to which they have already but too much inclina tion.

To prevent it, they muſt be accuſtomed not t ſtand in need of it, and be taught to tell ingenuou ly what pleaſes them, or what makes them uneaſ They muſt be told, that tricking always proceed from a bad diſpoſition; for no body uſes it but wit a view to diſſemble; as not being ſuch an one as h ought to be, or from deſiring ſuch things as are n to be permitted; or if they are, from taking diſh neſt means to come at them. Let the children b made to obſerve how ridiculous ſuch arts are, they ſee practiſed by others, which have generally bad ſucceſs, and ſerve only to make them contem tible. Make them aſhamed of themſelves, wh you catch them in any diſſimulation. Take fro them from time to time what they are fond of, they have endeavoured to obtain it by any dece and tell them they ſhall have it, when they aſk f it plainly and without artifice.

It is upon this point especially they should be made sensible of their honour. Make them comprehend the difference there is between a child that loves truth and sincerity, upon whose word one may rely, in whom one may fully confide, and who is looked upon as incapable, not only of lying and fraud, but of the least dissimulation; and another child, who is always suspected and distrusted, and [c] never believed, even though he speaks truth. [d] We should carefully set before them what Cornelius Nepos observes of Epaminondas, (and Plutarch says the same of Aristides), that he was so fond of truth that he never told a lie, not even in jest. *Adeo veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur.*

ARTICLE THE NINTH.

To accustom the Boys to be polite, cleanly, and punctual.

GOOD breeding is one of the qualities which parents most desire in their children, and it usually affects them more than any other. The value they set upon it arises from their conversation with the world, where they find that almost every thing is judged by its outside. In short, the want of politeness takes off very much from the most solid merit, and makes virtue itself seem less estimable and lovely: A rough diamond can never serve as an ornament; it must be polished before it can be shewn to advantage. We cannot therefore take care too early to make children civil and well bred.

In talking thus, I do not mean that we should exercise children, or bring them up by rule and method to all the formal ceremonies which are fashionable

[c] Mendaci homini, ne verum quidem dicenti, credere solemus. Cic. lib. ii. de Divin. n. 146.

[d] Cornel. Nep. in Epam.

ſhionable in the world. Such narrow little diſci pline ſerves only to give them falſe notions, and fil them with a fooliſh vanity. Beſides, this methodi cal civility, which conſiſts only in forms of inſipid compliments, and the affectation of doing every thing by rule and meaſure, is often more offenſive than a natural ruſticity. We muſt not therefore teize and wrangle much with them about ſuch faults as they may commit in this point. An ad dreſs not over graceful, a bow ill made, a hat clum ſily taken off, and a compliment ill turned, may de ſerve ſome little notice to be taken of them in an eaſy and gentle manner, but do not deſerve ſharp chiding, or the being made aſhamed before com pany, and much leſs to be puniſhed with ſeverity The commerce with the world will ſoon correct theſe petty defects.

But the point is, to go to the principle and roo of the evil, and to conquer certain diſpoſitions in the boys, which are directly oppoſite to the rule of ſociety and converſation; ſuch as a ſavage an clowniſh rudeneſs, which makes them heedleſs o what may pleaſe or diſpleaſe thoſe about them ſelf-love, attentive only to its own convenience an advantage; a haughtineſs and pride, which temp us to look upon every thing as our due, withou our being under any obligation to others; a ſpiri of contradiction and raillery, which blames ever thing, and takes pleaſure only in giving pain Theſe are the faults againſt which we muſt declar open war. Such boys as have been accuſtomed t be complaiſant towards their companions, to oblig them, to ſubmit to them upon occaſion, to ſay no thing which may offend them, and not be eaſily of fended themſelves at the diſcourſe of others; boy of this character, when they come abroad into th world, will ſoon learn the rules of civility and goo breeding.

It is alſo to be wiſhed, that children ſhould b accuſtomed to neatneſs, order, and exactneſs; th

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they take care of their dreſs, eſpecially on ſundays and holidays, and ſuch days as they go abroad; that every thing ſhould be ſet in order in their chambers and upon their tables, and every book put in its place, when they have done with it; that they ſhould be ready to diſcharge their different duty preciſely at the time appointed. This exactneſs is of great importance at all times, and in every ſtation of life.

All this is to be wiſhed for, but muſt not, in my opinion, be exacted with ſeverity, nor under pain of correction. For we muſt always diſtinguiſh the faults which ariſe from the levity of their age, from ſuch as flow from indocility and perverſeneſs. I beg the reader's pardon, if ſometimes I take the liberty to quote my own practice, whilſt engaged in the education of youth. I think I don't do it out of vanity, but only the better to ſhew the uſefulneſs of the advice which I give. I brought the boys to be very civil to ſuch ſtrangers as entered into the quadrangle, during their recreation, and almoſt ſcrupulouſly exact in repairing to every exerciſe at the firſt ſound of the clock, but not by menaces or corrections I uſed to commend them publickly for their civility to ſtrangers, who complimented me upon it, and for the readineſs with which they quitted their play, becauſe they knew it would pleaſe me. I ſometimes added, that though ſome of them were wanting in their little duties, I judged it muſt be through inadvertency, which was not ſurprizing in the heat of play. I deſired them to be more careful for the future, and to follow the example of the greateſt part of their companions; and I ſucceeded better by theſe civilities than I could have done by all the chiding and menaces in the world.

ARTICLE THE TENTH.

To make STUDY *agreeable.*

THIS is one of the moſt important points in education, and at the ſame time one of the moſt difficult: for amongſt a great number of maſters, who in other reſpects are very deſerving, there are very few to be found, who are happy enough to make their ſcholars fond of ſtudy.

The ſucceſs in this point depends very much on the firſt impreſſions [e], and it ſhould be the great care of maſters, who teach children their letters, to do it in ſuch manner, that a child, who is not yet capable of being fond of his book, ſhould not take an averſion to it, and the diſlike continue when he grows up. For this reaſon, ſays Quintilian, his ſtudy muſt be made a diverſion to him. The maſter muſt proceed by aſking him little queſtions. He muſt be encouraged by commendation, and allowed to ſet ſome value upon himſelf, and be pleaſed with having learnt any thing. Sometimes what he refuſes to learn muſt be taught another, to raiſe his jealouſy. We muſt enter into little diſputes with him, and let him think that he has often the better. We muſt intice him likewiſe by little rewards, which children at that age are very fond of.

But the great ſecret, [f] ſays Quintilian farther, to make children love their books, is to make them fond of their maſter. In this caſe they willingly give ear to him, become docile, ſtrive to pleaſe him, and take a pleaſure in his leſſons. They readily receive

[e] Id imprimis cavere oportebit, ne ſtudia qui amare nondum poteſt, oderit; et amaritudinem ſemel perceptam, etiam ultra rudes annos reformidet. Quint. lib. i. cap. 1.

[f] Diſcipulos id unum moneo, ut praeceptores ſuos non minus quam ipſa ſtudia ament.... multum haec pietas confert ſtudio. Quint. lib. ii. cap. 9.

ceive his advice and correction, are much affected with his commendation, and ſtrive to merit his friendſhip by a proper diſcharge of their duty There is implanted in children, as in all mankind, a natural ſpirit of curioſity, or deſire of knowledge and information, of which a good uſe may be made towards rendering their ſtudy agreeable. As every thing is new to them, they are continually aſking queſtions, and enquiring the name and uſe of every thing they ſee. And they ſhould be anſwered without expreſſing any pain or uneaſineſs. Their curioſity ſhould be commended and ſatisfied by clear and expreſs anſwers, without any thing in them deceitful or illuſory; for they will ſoon find it out, and take offence at it.

In every art and ſcience, the firſt elements and principles have ſomething dry and diſguſting in them. For which reaſon it is of great ſervice to abridge and facilitate the rudiments of the languages which are taught to children, and to take off from the bitterneſs of them as agreeably as we can.

Pueris dant cruſtula blandi
Doctores, elementa velint ut diſcere prima.

For the ſame reaſon I think the method of beginning with the explication of authors preferable to that of making exerciſes, becauſe the latter is more painful and tedious, and occaſions the children more anger and correction.

When they are privately brought up, a careful and ſkilful maſter omits nothing that may make ſtudy agreeable to them. He takes their time, ſtudies their taſte, conſults their humour, mingles diverſion with labour, ſeems to leave the choice to them, does not make their ſtudy regular, excites to it ſometimes by refuſing it, and by the ceſſation or rather interruption of it. In a word, he puts on a thouſand ſhapes, and invents a thouſand artifices to compaſs what he aims at.

This way in college is not practicable. In a common chamber and a numerous class discipline and good order require an uniform rule, and that all should follow it exactly; and herein lies the great difficulty of managing them. A master must have a good capacity, a great deal of skill to guide and direct the reins of so many different characters, of which some are brisk and impetuous, others slow and phlegmatic, some want the spur, and others the bridle; to manage, I say, all these dispositions at the same time, and yet so as to make them all move by concert, and lead all to the same point, notwithstanding this difference of genius. It must be owned, that, in the business of education, it is in this circumstance the greatest ability and prudence are required.

This is only to be attained by great gentleness, reason, moderation, coolness, and patience. This great principle must be always in view; that study depends upon the will, which admits of no constraint. g *Studium discendi voluntate, quæ cogi non potest, constat.* We may confine the body, make a scholar sit at his desk against his inclination, double his labour by way of punishment, force him to finish a task imposed on him, and for that end deprive him of his play and recreation; but can labouring thus upon force be properly called study? And what will follow upon it, but the hatred both of books, learning, and masters too, very often as long as they live? The will therefore must be gained; and this can only be by mildness, affectionate behaviour and persuasion, and above all by the allurement of pleasure.

As we are born slothful, enemies to labour, and still more to constraint, it is not surprising, that as all the pleasure lies on one side, and all the trouble on the other; all the trouble in study, and all the pleasure in diversion; a child should bear the one with impatience, and passionately pursue the other.

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g Quintil. lib. i. cap. 3.

The ſkill of the maſter lies in making ſtudy agreeable, and teaching his ſcholar to find a pleaſure in it. To which end, play and recreation may very much contribute. And this we ſhall treat of in the following article.

ARTICLE THE ELEVENTH.

To grant the Boys Reſt and Recreation.

A GREAT many reaſons oblige us to grant reſt and recreation to children; firſt, the care of their health, which ſhould go before that of knowledge. Now nothing is more prejudicial to it than too long and conſtant an application, that inſenſibly wears and weakens the organs, which in that age are very tender, and incapable of taking great pains. And this gives me an opportunity of adviſing and intreating parents not to puſh their children too much upon ſtudy in their early years, but to deny themſelves the pleaſure of ſeeing them make a figure before their time. [h] For, beſides that theſe ripe fruits ſeldom come to maturity, and their early progreſs reſembles thoſe ſeeds that are caſt upon the ſurface of the earth, which ſpring up immediately, but take no root; nothing is more pernicious to the health of children than theſe untimely efforts, though the ill effect be not immediately perceived.

If they are prejudicial to the body, they are no leſs dangerous to the mind; [i] which exhauſts itſelf, and grows dull by a continual application, and, like the earth, ſtands in need of a ſtated alternative of

[h] Quintil. lib. i. cap. 3.

[i] Ea quoque, quae ſenſu carent, ut ſervare vim ſuam poſſint, alterna quiete retunduntur. Ibid.

Ut fertilibus agris non eſt imperandum; cito enim exhauriet illos: nunquam intermiſſa fœcunditas: ita animorum impetus aſſidens laborem frangit. . . . Naſcitur ex aſſiduitate laborum, animorum hebetatio quaedam et languor. Senec. de tranq. an. cap. 15.

labour and reſt, in order to preſerve its force and vigour.

Beſides, as we have already obſerved, the boys after they have refreſhed themſelves a while, return to their ſtudies with more chearfulneſs, and a better heart; and this little relaxation animates them with freſh courage; whereas conſtraint ſhocks and diſheartens them.

I add with Quintilian, and the boys will doubtleſs agree to it, that a moderate inclination for play ſhould not diſpleaſe in them, as it is often a mark of vivacity. In ſhort, can we expect much ardour for ſtudy in a child, who, at an age that is naturally briſk and gay, is always heavy, penſive, and indifferent even to its play?

[k] But in this, as in every thing elſe, we muſt uſe diſcretion, and obſerve a medium, which conſiſts in not refuſing them diverſion, leſt they ſhould grow out of love with ſtudy; and in not granting too much, leſt they ſhould contract an habit of idleneſs.

The choice in this point requires ſome care; not that we need be under any concern about procuring them pleaſures; they invent enough of themſelves. It ſuffices to leave them to themſelves, and obſerve them without conſtraint, in order to keep them in temper, when they grow too warm.

The diverſions they love beſt, and which are likewiſe moſt ſuitable to them, are ſuch as are attended with ſome bodily motion. They are ſatisfied, provided they often change place. A ball, a kite, a top, are an high delight to them, as alſo walking and running.

There are plays of ingenuity, wherein inſtruction is mixed with diverſion, which may ſometimes find a place, when the body is leſs diſpoſed for motion, or the time and ſeaſon oblige them to be confined within doors.

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[k] Modus tamen ſit remiſſionibus, ne aut odium ſtudiorum faciant, negatae, aut otii conſuetudinem nimiae. Ibid.

As play is designed for a recreation, I queſtion whether we ought commonly to allow the children ſuch as require almoſt as much application as ſtudy. James the firſt King of Great Britain, in the inſtructions he left his ſon how to govern well, amongſt other advices concerning play, forbids him cheſs, becauſe it is rather a ſtudy than a recreation.

Plays of hazard, ſuch as cards and dice, which are now become ſo faſhionable, deſerve ſtill more to be forbid the boys. It is a ſhame to our age, that rational perſons cannot paſs a few hours together without cards in their hands. It will be well for the ſcholars, if they carry from college, and long retain an ignorance and contempt for all diverſions of this nature.

It is a principle in education which cannot be too much inculcated into parents and maſters, to inſpire children in general with a taſte for ſuch things as are ſimple. They ſhould neither feed upon delicate diſhes, nor be entertained with elegant diverſions. The temper of the ſoul is corrupted, as well as the taſte, by the purſuit of lively and poignant pleaſures; and as the uſe of ragouts makes the common food that is plainly dreſſed ſeem taſteleſs and inſipid; ſo, great emotions of the ſoul make the ordinary diverſions of youth tedious and inſipid.

We ſee parents, ſays M. de Fenelon, that are otherwiſe perſons of good ſentiments, carry their children themſelves to the public ſhews, and pretend, by thus mixing poiſon with healthful food, to give them a good education; and would look upon it as cruel and auſtere to deny them this medley of good and evil. He muſt be very little acquainted with human nature, who does not ſee that this ſort of diverſion cannot fail of creating a diſguſt in the boys for the ſerious and buſy life, for which, however, they are intended, and of making them conſider plain and innocent pleaſures as inſipid and inſupportable.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE THE TWELFTH.

To train up the Boys to Virtue by Discourse and Example.

WHAT I have said, shews that this is the indispensable duty of masters. As it is often requisite to fortify the children beforehand against the discourses and examples of their parents, as well as against the false prejudices and false principles advanced in common conversation, and authorized by an almost general practice; [l] they should be to them that guardian and monitor which Seneca so often speaks of, to preserve or deliver them from popular errors, and to inspire them with such principles as are conformable to right and sound reason. It is requisite, therefore, that they have a perfect sense of them themselves, and think and talk always with wisdom and truth. [m] For nothing can be said before children without effect, and they regulate their fears and desires by the discourses they hear.

It is for this reason that Quintilian, as we have already observed, advises masters to speak often to their disciples of honesty and justice. And Seneca tells us the wonderful effects which the lively exhortations of his produced upon him. The passage is perfectly beautiful. [n] "It is scarce to be imagined, says "he, how great an impression such discourses are capable

[l] Non licet ire recta via: trahunt in pravum parentes, trahunt servi. . . . . Sit ergo aliquis custos, et aurem subinde pervelat, abigatque rumores; et reclamet populis laudantibus. . . . . Itaque monitionibus crebris, opiniones, quae nos circumsonant, compescamus. Senec. epist. 94.

[m] Nulla ad aures puerorum vox impune perfertur. Nocent, qui optant; nocent, qui execrantur. Nam et horum imprecatio falso nobis metus inserit, et illorum amor male docet bene optando. Ibid.

[n] Verisimile non est, quantum proficiat talis oratio. . . . Facilius enim tenera conciliantur ingenia ad honesti rectique amorem. Adhuc docilibus et integre corruptis injicit manum veritas, si advocatum idoneum nacta est. Senec. epist. 108.

"capable of making. For the tender minds of youth "are eaſily inclined to the ſide of virtue. As they "are tractable and not much infected by corrupti- "on, they eaſily reſign themſelves to truth, provid- "ed an underſtanding advocate pleads its cauſe be- "fore them and ſpeaks in its favour. For my own "part, when I heard Attalus inveigh againſt vice, er- "ror and irregularity, I pitied mankind, and thought "nothing great and valuable, but a man that was "capable of thinking as he did. When he under- "took to ſet off the advantages of poverty, and "to prove that whatever is more than neceſſa- "ry, can be looked upon only as an uſeleſs charge "and an inconvenient burden, he made me with "to go poor out of his ſchool. When he exclaimed "againſt pleaſure, commended chaſtity of body, tem- "perance of diet, and purity of mind, I found my- "ſelf inclined to renounce the moſt lawful and al- "lowable pleaſures."

There is ſtill another ſhorter and ſurer way of conducting the boys to virtue, and this is by example. For the language of actions is far ſtronger and more perſuaſive than that of words. ° *Longum iter eſt per præcepta, breve et efficax per exempla.* It is a great happineſs for boys to have maſters, whoſe lives are a continual inſtruction to them, whoſe actions never contradict their leſſons, who do what they adviſe, and ſhun what they blame, and who are ſtill more admired when ſeen, than when they are heard.

Something ſeems ſtill to be wanting to what I have ſaid in this chapter concerning the different duties of a maſter; and yet parents would certainly conceive themſelves very happy, if they found ſuch for their children; however I deſire the reader to obſerve, that all I have hitherto ſaid has been extracted ſolely from Paganiſm; that Lycurgus, Plato, Tully, Seneca and Quintilian have lent me their thoughts, and ſupplied the rules, which I have laid down; that what I have borrowed from other authors is neither out of their ſphere, nor above the maxims and notions

° Senec. Epiſt. 6. 5.

tions of the heathens. Something therefore is ſtil wanting to the duties of a maſter, and this remain to be treated under the laſt article.

ARTICLE THE THIRTEENTH.

Piety, Religion, and Zeal for the Children's Salvation

¶ ST. Auguſtin ſays, that though Tully's treatiſe intitled Hortenſius, was very agreeable to him and the reading of it had paved the way to his con verſion, by inſpiring him with an eager deſire afte wiſdom, there was notwithſtanding ſtill ſomethin wanting, becauſe he did not find the name of Chri in it; and that whatever did not bear that ſacre name, however well conceived, however elegantl wrote, and however true it might be, did not entire ly charm him. I think likewiſe that my reade ſhould not be wholly ſatisfied, but ſtill find ſome thing wanting in what I have writen concerning th duty of maſters, as they do not find in it the nam of Chriſt, and diſcover no footſteps of Chri ſtianity in the precepts, which relate to th education of chriſtian children.

I have deſignedly done this, to ſhow how blame able we ſhould be, if we contented ourſelves wit what we have a right to demand from heathen ma ſters; or if we ſhould not go even ſo far as they. I ſhort, Chriſtianity is the ſoul and ſum of all the du ties I have hitherto ſpoke of. It is Chriſtianity whic animates them, which exalts and ennobles them whic

¶ Ille liber mutavit affectum meum, et vota mea ac deſideria fe alia.——Immortalitatem ſapientiae concupiſcebam actu cordis credibili; et ſurgere jam coeperam. ut ad te redirem.——Fortit excitabar ſermone illo et accendebar, et ardebam: et hoc ſolum in tanta flagrantia refrangebat, quod nomen Chriſti non erat ibi. Quicquid ſine hoc nomine fuiſſet, quamvis literatum et expolitu et veridicum, non me totum rapiebat. Conf. lib. iii. cap. 4.

which brings them to perfection, and gives them a merit, whereof God alone is the principle and motive, and of which God alone can be the just reward.

What then is a Christian master, who is entrusted with the education of youth? He is a man, into whose hands Christ has committed a number of children, whom he has redeemed with his blood, and for whom he has laid down his life, in whom he dwells, as in his house and temple; whom he considers as his members, as his brethren and coheirs, of whom he will make so many kings and priests, who shall reign and serve God with him and by him to all eternity. And for what end has he committed them to his care? Is it barely to make them poets, orators and men of learning? Who dare presume to say or even to think so? he has committed them to their care, in order to preserve in them the precious and inestimable deposit of innocence, which he has imprinted in their souls by baptism, in order to make them true Christians. This is the true end and design of the education of children, to which all the rest are but the means. Now how great and noble an addition does the office of a master receive from so honourable a commission? But what care, what attention and vigilance, and above all, how great a dependence upon Christ does it require?

In this last circumstance lies all the merit, and at the same time all the consolation of masters. They have need, in the government of children, of capacity, prudence, patience, mildness, resolution and authority. How great a consolation is it to a master to be fully persuaded, that Christ gives all these qualifications, and grants them to the humble and persevering petitioner, and that he may say to him with the prophet, *Thou, O Lord, art my patience and my strength, thou art my light and my council, thou subduest the little people under me whom thou hast committed to my care? Leave me not to myself one moment,*

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but grant me, for the direction of others and my own salvation, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of council and strength, the spirit of knowledge and piety, and above all the spirit of the fear of the Lord.

When a master has received this spirit, his work is done. This spirit is a master within, which dictates to him and teaches him all that is requisite, and upon every occasion points out to him his duty, and makes him practise it. One great mark of his having received it, is, that he finds in himself a great zeal for the salvation of the children; that he is affected with their dangers, and touched with their faults; that he frequently reflects upon the value of their innocence which they have received in baptism; how difficult it is to recover it, when once it is lost; what account must he give to Christ, who has placed him as a centinel to guard it, if the enemy carries off so precious a treasure, whilst he is asleep. A good master must apply to himself those words, which God was continually repeating in the ears of Moses, the conductor of his people, "[q] Carry them in thy bosom, as a nurse beareth "the sucking child." *Porta eos in sinu tuo, sicut portare solet nutrix infantulum.* He must experience somewhat of the tenderness and concern of [r] St. Paul for the Galatians, "for whom he felt the pains of childbirth "till Christ was formed in them." *Filioli mei, quos iterum parturio, donec formetur Christus in vobis.*

I cannot avoid applying here to the masters some of the instructions, which are given in a [s] letter to a superior upon her obligations, nor too earnestly exhort them to read that letter with care, which suits so well with their circumstances.

1. The first means of preserving the talent, which has been committed to your care and to increase it is to labour with fresh zeal to procure your own sanctification. You are God's instrument towards these children; you must therefore be strictly uni-

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[q] Numb. ix. 12.
[r] Gal. iv. 19.
[s] Lettres de morale et de piet
chez la Vieuve Estienne, Tome

ted to him. You are the channel, and therefore you ſhould be filled. It is your part to draw down bleſſings upon others; you muſt not therefore turn them aſide from falling upon your own head.

2. The ſecond means is not to expect fruit if you do not labour in the name of Chriſt, that is, as he himſelf laboured in the ſanctification of men, † He began with being the example of all the virtues he has required from them. His humility and gentleneſs were aſtoniſhing. He gave his life and blood for his ſheep. See here the example of ſhepherds and diſcern your own. Never take your eyes from this divine model. Bring forth thus, thus train up your diſciples, who are now become your children. Think leſs of chiding them, than of obtaining their love; and think only of gaining their love, in order to plant the love of Chriſt in their hearts, and after that, if poſſible, to blot you out of their minds.

3. The third means is to expect nothing from your own care, your own prudence, your own light and labour, but only from the grace of God. He rarely bleſſes thoſe, who are not humble. We ſpeak in vain to the ears, if he ſpeaks not to the heart. We water and plant in vain, unleſs he gives the increaſe.

We think to do wonders by multiplying words. We think to ſoften the hardneſs of the heart by ſharp reproaches, by humiliations and corrections. This may be uſeful ſometimes, but it muſt be the grace of God that makes it ſo; and when we rely too much upon theſe outward means, we lay a ſecret obſtacle in the way of grace, which is juſtly refuſed to human preſumption and an haughty confidence.

4. If your diſcourſe and cares have the bleſſing of God, do not attribute the ſucceſs of them to yourſelf. Do not give ear to the ſecret voice of your heart, which applauds you for it. Hearken not to the commendations of men who miſlead you. If

† He began to do and teach. Acts i. 1. Mighty in word and in deed. Luke xxiv. 19.

your labour ſeems ineffectual, be not diſcouraged, nor deſpair, either of yourſelf or others; but ſtill perſiſt in your duty. The moments which God has reſerved to himſelf, are known only to him. He will give you in the morning the reward of your labour in the night. It has ſeemed unprofitable, but not through your fault; the care was recommended to you, and not the ſucceſs.

PART THE SECOND.

Particular Duties relating to the Education of Youth.

THE different duties I have to examine in this ſecond part relate to the principal of the college, the regents, the parents, the preceptors and ſcholars.

CHAP. I.

Of the Duties of the Principal.

THE principal of a college is as the ſoul of it, which puts every thing in motion, and preſides over all. To him belongs the care of eſtabliſhing good order, of maintaining diſcipline, of watching in general over ſtudies and manners. It is eaſy to comprehend how ſerviceable ſuch an office is to the public, and at the ſame time how difficult to diſcharge. It were to be wiſhed, one would think that he who is placed at the head of the profeſſors ſhould be the principal in every reſpect; that he might in every thing ſerve as an adviſer and pattern that he ſhould be a perfect maſter of every branch of learning youth are taught, grammar, the belles lettres, rhetoric and philoſophy, that he might be capable

capable of judging of the ability of the masters and progress of the scholars. But the want of some of these points of knowledge may be supplied by other qualifications, which are still more essential and necessary. A house is happy, when it pleases God to set over it a man, who has the spirit of government, an amicable and sociable disposition, a solid judgment, an humble and prudent docility, and a perfect disinterestedness; one who enters upon his station only out of religious views, and not through any carnal motives. The success is then infallible. For we may truly say without fear of being mistaken, as experience has proved, that it is the merit of the principal, which contributes most to the reputation of a college.

There are four or five things especially, which are the object of the principal's pains and care, diet, study, discipline, education and religion. I shall explain every one of these parts in particular and with as much brevity as I can.

ARTICLE the FIRST.

Of the Diet of the STUDENTS.

A Principal in a college is like a father in a family. He must therefore have the attention and tenderness of a father, and employ his first cares upon the health of the children, which is the basis and foundation of all the rest. This depends very much upon their diet, which joined to motion and exercise, serves to make the children grow, to strengthen them, to give them a good constitution, and enable them to support the fatigues of the different stations, to which Providence shall one day call them. To this end the diet must be plain, but good, solid and regular.

The means of having the food such as it should be, and is to me an essential principle in point of oeconomy, is to provide the best in every kind, the best bread, the best meat, the best oil, the best butter, &c. and I have known by experience, that the expence would not be the greater, especially if care be taken to pay regularly for them, in which case we are sure to be always well served.

One obstacle to the rule I here lay down would be an earnest desire in the principal to heap up wealth. But I should not suspect any body of a disposition so remote from the character of a man of learning and honour, who knows better than any other, [u] that it would be a disgrace to his office to exercise it out of any mean views of interest, and to set a price upon his care in the education of youth. It is very fit that the pains a man takes in this way, which are the most irksome and troublesome part of the government of a college, should meet with a temporal reward. A principal in order to do things as he ought, and behave with generosity, should have wherewithal to live at his ease, but the way of attaining it, as several have experienced, is to spare nothing for the good entertainment of the students.

[x] It is not enough, that the principal himself be of a disinterested and generous disposition; he must inspire the same sentiments into those, who under him time and in his stead are intrusted with the oeconomy, and set a strict watch over their conduct, for which he is answerable to the public. A sure sign that he sincerely desires to discharge his duty in this point is, the allowing the masters a full liberty of com

[u] Quis ignorat quin id longe sit honestissimum, ac liberalibus disciplinis, et illo quem exigimus animo dignissimum, non vendere operam, nec elevare tanti beneficii auctoritatem. Quintil. lib. xii. c. 7.

[x] His in rebus jam te usus ipse profecto erudivit, nequaquam satis esse ipsum haec habere virtutes, sed circumspiciendum diligenter ut in hac custodia provinciae non te unam sed omnes mihi tros imperii nostri sacris et civibus, et reipublicae praeesse videare. Cic. Epist. 1. lib. 1. ad Quint. fratr.

complaining to him upon this article, as well as all the reſt, to call upon them publickly to do it, to declare that it will be a pleaſure to him to have them behave in that manner, to receive their remonſtrances ſo as to convince them of it, and eſpecially to make that uſe of their information which juſtice and prudence may require from him. To ſpare the maſters a trouble that ſuch a ſtep muſt naturally cauſe, he may appoint ſome perſon in the college as the vice-principal, or any other to whom they can more freely and readily expreſs themſelves; and this he may be ſure is the only way of keeping people from talking.

The maſters on their ſide muſt ſhew a great deal of moderation upon this article, and never complain at table of the meat ſerved up, that they may not accuſtom their ſcholars to too great a delicacy in eating and drinking, nor authorize by their example a ſpirit of murmuring and complaining, which is of no uſe but to ſow diviſion and foment diſſatisfaction in a college. They muſt remember, that how careful and well diſpoſed ſoever a principal is, it is impoſſible but in a large houſhold ſome ſmall faults and negligences muſt eſcape, which the prudence and charity of the maſters ſhould overlook and conceal.

To good diet ſhould be joined neatneſs, which exalts its value, and is a kind of ſeaſoning to it. The linen ſhould be white, the diſhes clean, the halls where they eat regularly ſwept every day after dinner, and every thing conſtantly ranged in its place. [x] The ſtatutes of the univerſity deſcend to very minute particulars upon this article, and ſhew how important they hold it to be careful in this point. A principal therefore cannot conſider it as unworthy of his care, and muſt be able to ſay of himſelf what we read in Horace,

[y] *Hæc ego procurare et idoneus imperor, et non*
Invitus: ne turpe toral, ne ſordida mappa

[x] Stat. 13. Append. [y] Epiſt. 5. lib. i.

Corrugat nares; ne non et cantharus, et lanx
Oſtendat tibi te.

The ſame poet in another paſſage obſerves, that as this neatneſs requires no expence, but only a little care and exactneſs, negligence in this point is unpardonable.

[z] *Vilibus in ſcopis, in mappis, in ſcobe quantus*
Conſiſtit ſumptus? neglectis flagitium ingens.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

Of the STUDIES.

AS the choice of the regents depends ſolely upon the principal, we may ſay for this reaſon, that the ſucceſs of the ſtudies depends upon him. This choice is one of the moſt conſiderable parts of his office, and has the greateſt conſequences, either with reference to the public, or to the perſon of the principal himſelf.

How great an advantage is it to youth, how great an honour to the univerſity, when a principal prefers ſuch regents, as are diſtinguiſhed by their learning, as are famed abroad by their compoſitions or public actions; and to theſe ſhining qualities add others no leſs neceſſary, the talent of teaching and governing, authority, probity and piety? But how great a burden does he lay upon himſelf, if through human views he nominates ſuch regents, as are incapable of diſcharging their functions? All the good which a better choice had produced will be objected to him, and all the ill which ſhall follow upon an imprudent and raſh nomination laid to his charge.

To avoid this misfortune, he muſt endeavour to caſt his eyes upon ſuch as God deſigns for employments, that is, to whom he has given qualifications neceſſary

[z] Sat. iv. lib. ii.

neceſſary to diſcharge them; otherwiſe it is to deſpiſe his gifts, and reject what he has choſen. The univerſity, in allowing the principals the privilege of electing regents, enjoins them to be fully aſſured of their capacity, and ſtill more of their probity, that they may be in a condition to inſtruct youth in learning, and to form their manners. [a] *Gymnaſiarchæ ad docendam et regendam juventutem pædagogos et magiſtros probatæ vitæ et doctrinæ recipiant et admittant . . . . quorum mores imprimis ſpectandi, ut pueri ab his et literas ſimul diſcant, et bonis moribus imbuantur.*

Neither fleſh, nor blood, nor country, muſt be conſulted in ſuch a choice, nor any thing but the public advantage. Were it allowable to compare great things with ſmall, one would exhort the principal to call to mind a beautiful expreſſion of a Roman Emperor, and imitate his conduct. I mean Galba, when he adopted Piſo. Auguſtus, ſays he to him, ſought for a ſucceſſor in his own family, but I have ſought for one in the whole empire. [b] *Auguſtus in domo ſucceſſorem quæſivit, ego in republica.* [c] We ſhould look upon him as our neareſt relation and beſt friend, who has the moſt merit, according to the beautiful expreſſion of Pliny. Solicitation, and the recommendation of great men, ſhould have no place here; and it is upon theſe occaſions that he muſt ſhew an inflexible reſolution, by repreſenting to himſelf, how great an injuſtice and breach of truſt he ſhould be guilty of, if he ſacrificed the eſſential intereſt of ſo many families, that have actually confided to him what they hold moſt dear, to his complaiſance for a private perſon.

We know how many excellent members Mr. Gobinet brought into the college du Pleſſis. He took pains to go in queſt of them himſelf, and paid regard only to merit, and never to recommendation alone.

[a] Stat. Facult. Art. [b] Tacit. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 15.

[c] An tu ſummæ poteſtatis haeredem tantum intra domum tuam quaeras? Non per totam civitatem circumferas oculos, et hunc tibi proximum, hunc conjunctiſſimum exiſtimes, quem optimum inveneris? Plin. in Paneg. Traj.

alone. The famous M. Lenglet having read a copy of verſes, which he found by chance upon Mr. Gobinet's table, told him, that the author, whom he did not know, might become an excellent poet, if to his natural genius he added the ſtudy of Virgil. This was enough for that worthy principal, after he had enquired into the other qualifications of the young man, to make him a regent. It was M. Herſan, who has done ſo much honour to the univerſity.

It might be of great ſervice to a principal, to train up himſelf good ſubjects in his college, and prepare them early for the regency. When they are thus ſeen to grow up under his eyes, he muſt be far better acquainted with them, both as to their capacity and what is ſtill more eſſential, their morals and diſpoſition. I ſhall reſume this matter, and ſpeak more fully to it at the concluſion of this article.

It is not ſufficient to have made a good choice, he muſt keep up to it through all the reſt of his conduct. The great ſkill of a principal lies in gaining the affection of the regents, in making himſelf valued and beloved by them, and acquiring their confidence, which can only be obtained by a civil and obliging treatment, remote from all haughtineſs and pride. For he muſt remember, that the prevailing character in men of letters, is the love of liberty, I mean an honeſt liberty directed by reaſon.

Beſides what depends upon the regents, the principal may contribute very much of himſelf to the advancement of ſtudy, by raiſing an emulation in the claſſes, from the frequent viſits he ſhall make them, to take an account of their progreſs, to encourage the good ſcholars by commendation, to diſtribute rewards and prizes amongſt them from time to time, to excite the weak and indifferent to take pains, and univerſally to confirm the authority and good views of the regents.

The diſtribution of prizes, which is ſolemnly made at the end of the year, is one of the moſt effectual

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means to excite and keep up the emulation I am ſpeaking of. The care of this belongs to the principal, and of all the expences he is at, this is the beſt employed. It were to be wiſhed, as I have already obſerved, that his revenue might admit of wherewithal to do it without inconvenience to himſelf; and I admire the generoſity of thoſe, who having no penſioners, or but very few, do notwithſtanding diſtribute prizes at the end of the year, as though they were very rich.

That this diſtribution of prizes may produce its full effect, it muſt be made with great equity, without favour or affection. It depends upon the principal, whether he will give prizes or not; but when they are once propoſed, he is no longer at liberty. They are due, and of right belong to merit, and cannot, under any pretence whatſoever, be refuſed without manifeſt injuſtice. Here places are regulated, not by birth or riches, but by knowledge and underſtanding. The plebeian is upon a level with the prince, and uſually very much above him; nor does any thing more contribute to make learning flouriſh in a college, than the reputation of an exact and ſtrict juſtice in the diſtribution of places and prizes.

I return, according to my promiſe, to the choice of regents. The ſureſt way of ſucceeding in it, as I have known ſeveral principals practiſe it with ſucceſs, is to make choice of certain poor ſcholars in the claſſes, who are obſerved to have genius and good inclinations, to bring them up at their own expence, to have a particular eye over their conduct and ſtudies; and when they have finiſhed them, to commit ſome few ſcholars to their care, in order to prepare them for the office, by inſtructing them; to oblige them from time to time to compoſe in verſe and proſe, and thereby enable them to enter into the regency, when occaſion offers.

This expence is not very great, and may be attended with good conſequences. The great advantage a principal may expect from it, is to draw down the bleſſing of God upon his college, and this he has

great

great need of. For it must be owned, that, gene rally speaking, there is a kind of curse upon th rich and riches, which he must endeavour to aver by mingling some poor scholars among the children of the rich, that may draw upon them the care an protection of him, who declares himself, through out the whole scripture, the Protector and Fathe of the poor.

I question whether a man of learning and probi ty can have a more refined satisfaction, than that o having contributed, by his care and liberality, t the producing of young men, who afterwards be come able professors, and by their extraordinary ta lents do honour to the university. This satisfacti on, in my opinion, is far improved, when it pro ceeds from a grateful disposition, and these service are done by way of acknowledgment, and paid a a kind of debt, in return for such as have been re ully in a like situation. For we must not be a shamed to own, that the most excellent member often spring from the bosom of poverty, as Horac observes, speaking of the greatest men in the Ro man republic.

[d] *Hunc, et incomptis Curium capillis*
Utilem bello tulit, et Camillum
Sæva paupertas.

ARTICLE THE THIRD.

Of the Discipline of the COLLEGE.

IT is the business of principals, by their place an title, to keep a watchful eye over the genera discipline of the colleges. [e] It belongs to them t examine the scholars, in order to place them in th classes for which they are fit. [f] It is their duty t take an account every week how they have behaved it is theirs to agree with the professors, what author ar

[d] Fabricium, Hor. od. 12. lib. i.
[e] Stat. 13. Facult. art.
[f] Stat. 17.

are to be explained in the classes. [g] They are obliged to see the statutes of the university exactly observed, and the regulations of the faculties of arts relating to the discipline of colleges and classes, such, for instance, as that of fixing holidays, and the times of entering into and quitting the classes, which was lately revived and authorised by parliament; and it is for this reason, the [h] university enjoins them to read over these statutes and regulations twice a year in the presence of all the masters and scholars.

This last ordinance is very judicious, but not observed with sufficient exactness. To make the execution of it more easy, such statutes and regulations as have been judged most essential to discipline, have been separately printed and read over by some professors every year in their classes. Several others might be added to them, which have since been made, and it might be proper to reprint.

I shall begin this article with the principal's duty towards the scholars of the house. What I shall afterwards say, likewise belongs, in some measure, and is common to them with the rest of the scholars; but there is a peculiar care due to them from the principal. The house is properly theirs, and the colleges originally were founded for them. This the principal should always have in mind, and never forget the pious motives of the founders, who have dedicated part of their substance to so sacred an use. They were for the most part high and mighty lords in their time, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, chancellors, princes, and sometimes crowned heads. Their memory should be as dear and precious to a principal, as their persons would be, if they were actually in place and credit. In respect and gratitude to these illustrious founders, who are always living for him, he must behave to the scholars of the house with the affection and tenderness of a father, procure them all the temporal and spiritual assistance in his power, take

[g] Stat. 24. [h] Stat. 76.

take the utmoſt pains to enable them to fill the plac
worthily, to which Divine Providence ſhall call ther
and eſpecially hinder the children of the rich fro
expreſſing a contempt for them, and to this end mu
himſelf ſhew them great value and conſideratio
I have never obſerved that the penſioners have bee
offended, that upon certain occaſions the ſcholars
the houſe were ſet before them, and by way of h
nour preferred to the firſt places; but then the
ſhould not value themſelves too much upon it, n
forget that it is from their poverty that they a
ſcholars of the houſe, and therefore they ſhou
behave with reſpect, obedience, and docility, ar
above all with humility; for nothing is more inſu
portable than poverty and pride: [i] *My ſoul hate*
. . . a poor man that is proud. Upon theſe condi
ons, we cannot expreſs too great friendſhip towar
the ſcholars of the houſe. When a principal has be
one of them himſelf, as very frequently happens,
is the more inclined to favour them, and is apt
apply to himſelf this verſe in Virgil,

[k] *Non ignara mali miſeris ſuccurrere diſco.*

Or rather he applies to himſelf the command whi
God ſo often in ſcripture gives the Iſraelites, of
king care of the ſtrangers, becauſe they had be
ſtrangers themſelves. [l] *Love ye therefore ſtrange*
for ye were ſtrangers in the land of Egypt.

One of the things which contribute moſt to eſ
bliſh the reputation of a college, is an exact and
niform diſcipline. There are many parents inde
which almoſt blindly determine upon the choice
a college; but there are many alſo who behave
therwiſe, and who look upon the giving their ch
dren a Chriſtian education as the firſt and moſt
ſential part of their duty, and therefore devote
their care and application to that. Now what
termines ſuch parents in favour of a college, is
knowle

[i] Eccl. xxv. 4. [k] Æn. lib. i. v. 634. [l] Deut. x.

knowledge they have of the good discipline observed in it.

The whole care of a principal is faithfully to discharge his duty without being uneasy about the success. A little honour suffices to induce him never to make an interest for any pensioner. This would be to disparage and disgrace his profession, and confound it with the employment of hirelings and mechanics, who would many of them blush at such a proceeding. It should be looked upon as an advantage to be admitted into his college, and it is one indeed to be placed in a house, where the youth are carefully brought up, and no sensible parent will ever think otherwise. It would likewise, in my opinion, be prudent not blindly to receive all the scholars that should be offered, but first to be informed of their manners and characters, especially when they are somewhat grown up, and come from some other college or boarding-house.

But the most important point of discipline, is never to suffer any scholar to remain in college that is capable of being prejudicial to others, either by corrupting the purity of their morals, or by inspiring them with a spirit of discontent and rebellion. In these two cases, we may, without scruple, affirm the rule I am now speaking of, should be inviolably observed. To be convinced of it, we need only change the object, and ask one's self, whether one would leave a child, that was sick of a contagious distemper, with the rest? Is the infection of the morals then less dangerous, or attended with less fatal consequences? Can a principal, who has a just sense of religion, support this terrible, but true reflection, that God will one day demand of him an account of all the souls that shall be lost in college, from his having declined to send away the corrupters, through views of interest, or too great complaisance, or even good nature? [m] *Sanguinem ejus de manu tua requiram:* His blood will I require at thy hand.

[m] Ezek. iii. 28.

When I ſpeak thus, I do not mean that every conſiderable fault, nor even every immoral action, is a reaſon for diſmiſſing a ſcholar. The diſeaſe, as ſuch, is not a reaſon for ſending the ſick perſon out of the infirmary, but only when it is known to be contagious, and capable of infecting others. Thus, we muſt bear with a ſcholar for ſome time; but when we ſee that inſtructions, chiding, and puniſhments are ineffectual, and there is cauſe to apprehend that the evil may ſpread, the removal of him then becomes abſolutely neceſſary.

I own there is no circumſtance, which requires more prudence and diſcretion in the principal, than this I am ſpeaking of. Nothing but the Spirit of God can keep him in a juſt medium, and inſpire him with wiſdom to behave ſo as not to offend through too great gentleneſs, or too much ſeverity. Nor can he, in ſuch a conjuncture, implore too much his aſſiſtance and inſtruction.

Another means of preſerving diſcipline and good order in a college, is firmly and diſcreetly to ſupport and eſtabliſh the authority of the lower maſters, to ſtand ſtedfaſtly by them upon occaſion, and never to blame them in the preſence of the ſcholars, but to reſerve what we have to ſay to them for their private ear, if it is judged neceſſary, and there to give them proper advice. To this end, the principal ſhould often ſee them, always receive them with humanity and civility, inform himſelf by them of the behaviour of the ſcholars, hear their complaints and opinions, and leave them intire liberty in order to gain their confidence. It is this union, this agreement and good underſtanding, which is the ſoul of government. The principal then hears all that paſſes, and all is managed by his directions. The maſters, who are his arms, his ears, and his eyes, receive all their motions from him, and he treats them alſo with the ſame tenderneſs, as the apple of his eye, and as ſo many parts of himſelf.

The vice-principal, upon whom the care of the diſcipline

diſcipline in general turns, and who almoſt univerſally holds the place, and ſupplies the abſence of the principal, ſhould in every thing follow his inſtructions. Vigilance, attention and exactneſs, form his eſſential character. Nothing ſhould eſcape him. During his recreations, whilſt he is walking and talking with others, his eyes and his mind muſt be in another place. He muſt obſerve all that paſſes, and almoſt without ſeeming to do it; every motion, every converſation, every particular correſpondence, and draw an advantage from them all. And the ſame may be ſaid of all the other maſters, who are equally obliged to be attentive, and can more eaſily be ſo, as they have a ſmaller number of ſcholars to obſerve. There are ſome maſters, who think in this point they may in conſcience rely upon the perſon who is intruſted with the public diſcipline; but this is a miſtake. For every maſter muſt anſwer for his ſcholars, and is obliged to watch over them at all times, when he is at liberty to do ſo.

We cannot too much recommend the doing every thing exactly in the time and moment appointed for it. There is little trouble in it, except in the beginning. When the cuſtom is once eſtabliſhed, the ſcholars obſerve it almoſt naturally, and without any difficulty. It is a pleaſure to ſee a great number of boys diſappear at once, as ſoon as the clock ſtrikes, and leave the court empty; and it is a bad omen of the diſcipline of a college, when, inſtead of a ſpeedy departure, they ſeem doubtful whether they ſhall go or no, and loiter one after another. And the ſame obſervation will hold good as to every thing elſe; their going into their claſſes, the refectory and the church. To eſtabliſh this order, the principal and vice-principal muſt ſet the example, and be there always firſt.

This diſpoſition to exactneſs, is of great weight in all the employments of life. It is a qualification abſolutely neceſſary to all that are in authority. To this end, it is requiſite to deſcend to very minute particulars; to attend to every thing almoſt with-

out seeming to do so; to foresee at a distance, and prepare for whatever is to be done; not to be satisfied with giving orders, but to be regularly informed whether they are executed and how; to see that the slightest injunctions are observed, in order to prevent, by that means, the breaking of such as are more essential. There are some masters who despise exactness in little things, because they look upon them as trifles; but they do not consider, that though every one of these rules may appear perhaps of very little moment in particular, yet, joined all together, they form what is called discipline and good order in a college, and that negligence in some usually induces the ruin of the rest. I could here willingly apply the observation of Livy upon the point of religion. These ceremonies, [n] says he, seem now to us small and contemptible; but it was by not despising them, that our ancestors raised the republic to that height of grandeur to which it has now attained. *Parva sunt hæc, sed parva ista non contemnendo majores nostri maximam hanc rem fecerunt.*

Not that I think good order in a college should be made to consist in the great number of rules. The multiplicity of laws is not always the sign of a good government. [o] *Ut antehac flagitiis, ita tunc legibus laborabatur*, says Tacitus. They are rather for the masters who know the necessity and advantages of them, than for the scholars who are apt to rise up at the bare name of laws. The example of the former, and an habit of practising these rules contracted by the other, is a living law, preferable to all that are written. It were to be wished we could say of a college, what the same [p] Tacitus says of the Germans, that good morals there have more force than good laws in other places. *Plus ibi boni mores valent, quam alibi bonæ leges.*

ARTICLE

[n] Liv. lib. vi. n. 41.
[o] Tacit. annal. lib. iii. cap. 25.
[p] De mor. Ger. cap. 19.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH.

Of EDUCATION.

BY this word, I here understand the particular care that is taken in forming the manners and characters of youth, wherein I suppose a great part of education to consist.

This care relates either to the body or the mind; and it is the principal's business to see that both are improved.

We may refer all that concerns the body to neatness and gracefulness.

With reference to neatness, I cannot do better than quote the express terms of the statute and injunction of the university upon this subject. q "The "masters must take care that their scholars have no "nastiness, nor any thing dirty or gross in their "dress; that they do not express a remarkable ne"gligence in their habit; that their clothes be not "torn, their hair uncombed, or their hands un"washed. For it is requisite, not only to give "them a good taste for learning and the sciences, "but also to teach them a civil and courteous man"ner of behaviour, which are so necessary for so"ciety and the commerce of life. On the other "hand, the boys must not be allowed to be too "gaudy and trim in their apparel, nor must they "affect to have their hair pinned up and curled "with too much care and art." This injunction is very judicious, as it commands us to avoid the two extremes, which are alike vicious. We must not, therefore, suffer any affectation of finery in the

q Provideant paedagogi et magistri, ut sui discipuli abhorreant à cultu immundo, luculento, et agresti; ne sint insigniter negligentes in vestitu: ne discincti, impexi, illoti: ut non solum in literatura, sed etiam in communi vitae usu civilem humanitatem politioremque urbanitatem ediscant. Sed hi, neque lasciviant immodestius, neque tortos arte et studio capillos cincinnosve ferant. Stat. 14. Append.

ſcholars, and much leſs thoſe airs of *petits maitres*, by which they ſometimes ſtrive to diſtinguiſh themſelves.

Gracefulneſs, with reference to the boys, conſiſts in a good addreſs, in having a countenance ſettled and modeſt, in walking with an eaſy and natural air, in keeping themſelves upright, in making a handſome bow, in not falling into indecent poſtures, nor indulging a certain air of negligence. For this end, dancing-maſters are uſeful to a certain degree; and Quintilian approves of our making ſome uſe of them. [r] *Ne illos quidem reprehendendos putem, qui paulum etiam palæſtricis vacaverint.* But he was far from allowing, that ſuch perſons ſhould be employed in this office, as were infamous and ſcandalous by their very profeſſion. *Hos abeſſe ab eo, quem inſtituimus, quàm longiſſimè velim.* He confines this ſtudy to a narrow compaſs, and admits only of the few neceſſary circumſtances we have deſcribed above. *Ut recta ſint brachia, ne indoctæ ruſticæque manus, ne ſtatus indecorus, ne qua in proferendis pedibus inſcitia, ne caput oculique ab alia corporis inclinatione diſſideant.*

I have elſewhere ſpoke of politeneſs, which partly belongs to the body, and partly to the mind. For what is eſſential in this qualification, lies in not being too fond of one's ſelf, nor doing every thing for one's own ſake; in avoiding to do or ſay any thing to offend others; in ſeeking opportunities of doing them a pleaſure; and in preferring their convenience and inclinations to our own. This the maſters ſhould principally take care of; and when the boys are exerciſed in the practice of theſe maxims, they eaſily grow polite, and upon going abroad into the world, will learn in three months all they want to know in this reſpect.

But the great and capital application of a principal, and, in proportion, of all the other maſters, is to work upon the genius and humour of the boys, and in this reſpect do them an infinite ſervice. But herein he cannot

[r] Quintil. lib. i. cap. 11.

cannot make any great progreſs by public inſtructions, but may, by private converſations in which the boys may open themſelves to him, ſpeak to him with liberty, and tell him their grievances; and here they may be taught to know themſelves, not to be diſpleaſed when they are told their faults, to diſcover them firſt, and ſincerely own them, to enquire after proper methods of amendment, to deſire the maſter's directions upon this head, and to come and give an account to him from time to time of the benefit they have found by them.

Suppoſe, for inſtance, that the ſcholar is naturally addicted to pride and vanity, he talks often of himſelf, and always with ſelf-eſteem and complacency, he boaſts upon every occaſion of the nobility of his family, the high places of his parents, their wealth, and the magnificence of their equipage, furniture and table, and expreſſes a contempt for every one beſides. This fault is not uncommon among boys, and is ſometimes found even in thoſe, whoſe parents have nothing to recommend them, but the wealth they have heaped up.

If a principal takes a due care of his college, he cannot avoid being acquainted with this boy's diſpoſition. When he makes him a viſit, after ſome preliminary diſcourſe, which may ſometimes laſt the longer, in order to pave the way for ſomething better and more ſerious, the converſation muſt be made to turn upon what relates to this young man. If upon the queſtions that are put to him, he owns his prevailing fault, and ingenuouſly confeſſes it, we ſhould ſeem to be well ſatisfied with him, to commend his ſincerity, and let him know that a fault acknowledged and confeſſed, is already half amended. If he does not allow of it, which may happen either deſignedly or not, we muſt endeavour inſenſibly to let him into it, by urging particular facts, though without reproach or bitterneſs, by the opinion of his maſters, and even the teſtimony of his companions; and ſometimes he muſt be allowed time to reflect more maturely upon it. When at

laſt

laſt he begins to own his fault, we muſt endeavour to ſhew him the deformity and ridicule of it; how our own ſelf-love, rightly conſidered, muſt give us an averſion for it; as inſtead of the eſteem we propoſe to ourſelves in ſuch fooliſh boaſting, we gain only contempt and hatred. We muſt lay before him the example of ſome one of his companions of great worth and merit, that is humble and modeſt, and eſteemed and beloved by all the world. After having thus pointed out to him his diſeaſe, we muſt next proceed to provide a remedy, by enjoining him to talk no more of himſelf, or his family, of his parents, or their wealth and dignity; not to ſet himſelf above others in his own opinion, to deſpiſe nobody, and to ſpeak advantageouſly of his companions. About a fortnight after he may be called for again, and after being informed by the maſters of every thing relating to him, we gather it all from his own mouth, as though we had heard nothing of the matter, and upon finding that he has made any progreſs or alteration, he is to be commended, encouraged, and exhorted to grow better and better.

I ſuppoſe, for a ſecond example, that a boy has been untractable and diſreſpectful towards his maſter, that he has refuſed to obey him, has even added ſome inſolent expreſſion, and perſiſts in his obſtinacy. The maſter, inſtead of puniſhing him immediately as he deſerves, is prudently contented to let him know he is diſpleaſed, and remits the puniſhment to another time. In the mean while the ſcholar does not recollect himſelf, nor acknowledge his fault. The principal, upon information, ſends for him, makes him repeat the matter as it paſſed, and examines whether he ſpeaks true; he makes him both witneſs and judge in his own cauſe; he aſks him if a ſcholar ought not to ſubmit to his maſter; if he ought not to anſwer him with reſpect, even though he thought he was not to blame; how much more muſt he be in the wrong, if the maſter had reaſon entirely on his ſide? Could a college

ſubſiſt,

ſubſiſt, if ſuch an example was to be allowed? Is it in a maſter's or principal's power to leave him unpuniſhed? or could he reaſonably expect it from them? and thus by degrees a boy may be brought to condemn himſelf, to own he has deſerved to be puniſhed, to make ſatisfaction to his maſter, and to ſubmit to whatever he ſhall think fit. But the maſter, then contented with the ſubmiſſion, is pleaſed to forgive the puniſhment. By ſuch diſcreet management the fault of the ſcholar becomes beneficial to him, and concludes with making him love and reſpect his maſters more than ever; whereas an immediate correction had created in him perhaps an averſion for them for ever.

Upon theſe occaſions there is a certain addreſs required in a maſter, which conſiſts in knowing how to gain upon the mind, to touch gently upon what is amiſs, not to go too far, and to lead them by different queſtions to the point we would bring them to: This was the wonderful art of Socrates, as may be ſeen in all the dialogues, wherein Plato introduces him as a ſpeaker. We find alſo an admirable inſtance of it in the [t] Cyropædia of Xenophon, another diſciple of Socrates, which may ſerve as a model to maſters for the kind of converſation I am here ſpeaking of. The king of Armenia rebelling againſt Aſtyages king of Media, Cyrus marched ſpeedily againſt him and took him priſoner, and cauſing him to be brought before him with his wives and children, he began with requiring him above all things to anſwer according to the truth. Then the king of Armenia, led from propoſition to propoſition, owned with trembling, that he had unjuſtly broken the treaty, and deſerved to loſe his kingdom and his life. But Cyrus, contrary to all expectation, having reſtored him to his dominions, made a friend of him, whoſe fidelity and gratitude afterwards became inviolable. The paſſage is very long, but very beautiful, and deſerves to be read with care.

But

[t] Cyrop. lib. iii.

But to return to the principal. He may do infinite service by these familiar conversations, wherein the scholars may open themselves to him, and talk to him as to a good friend. One may sometimes employ the hours of recreation in this sort of conversation. When the scholars love and value their principal, they make no difficulty of disclosing themselves to him; but it must be done in such a manner, that by his inviolable secrecy he may never give them cause to repent of it. He should principally apply himself to such as are grown up, as they are better able to profit by his instructions, and stand most in need of them. The two years of philosophy, after which it is usual to chuse the kind of life they design to follow, seem naturally designed to examine their vocation. It is the most important action of life, upon which their temporal happiness and eternal salvation often depend, and is almost constantly left to an age incapable of conducting itself, and but little disposed to take advice.

Before I conclude this article, I must add, that principals are capable, and perhaps obliged too, to do a part of the same services to the scholars, that live out of the college, as they do to the pensioners: For all the youth of the college are committed to their care. When a regent perceives that a scholar begins to be irregular, he may inform the principal of it, who may send for him into his chamber, and give him such instructions, as are necessary to reclaim him.

ARTICLE THE FIFTH.

Of RELIGION.

I Have no need to prove, that this article is the most momentous of all, and that the negligence of the masters upon this point would be very criminal, as it would be attended with very bad consequences.

quences. We may reduce what we have to say upon this matter to three points, instructions, the use of the sacraments, and the practice of certain exercises of piety.

I. Instructions.

It is easy to comprehend, that such boys as leave the college without sufficient instruction in religion, run the risk of being ignorant of it all the rest of their lives; and it is but too plain, that this ignorance is the fatal source of the disorders and irreligion, which almost universally prevail in the world.

The remedy for so great an evil, is to make the best advantage of the time, whilst the boys are yet tractable, and naturally inclined to hearken to all the truths of religion. It should be laid down as a principle of christian education, which concerns all masters in general, principals, regents and preceptors, that children are committed to their care by Christ himself, to see that they preserve the precious treasure of innocence, which he has renewed in them by baptism; to make them worthy of the divine adoption, and the glorious title of the children of God, to which he has raised them, to instruct them in all the mysteries of his life and death, and in all the precepts, upon the observation of which their salvation depends. It is this that Christ will one day require an account of from us, and not whether we have made them good poets or good orators.

Now whence can we derive these points of divine knowledge, but from the sacred books of the Old and New Testament? I beg the masters to read over carefully what M. de Fenelon says upon this article, in his book I have already mentioned, *of the education of daughters*, which equally belongs to young persons of the other sex. I shall here quote some passages from it.

"The stories of the Old Testament are not only "proper to awaken the curiosity of children, but "by

" by discovering to them the original of their reli-
" gion, they lay the foundations of it in their mind.
" A person must be profoundly ignorant of the spi-
" rit of religion, not to see that it is wholly histori-
" cal. It is by a texture of wonderful facts, tha
" we learn its establishment, its perpetuity, and al
" that we are to believe and practise.

" It must not be imagined that we have an incli
" nation to engage young persons to enter deep in
" to the knowledge of it, by laying before them al
" these stories. They are short, various, and calcu
" lated to please persons of the dullest understanding
" God, who knows better than any other the spiri
" of the man, whom he has formed, has placed re
" ligion in popular facts, which are so far from over
" charging the simple, that they assist them in con
" ceiving and retaining the mystery of it." M. d
Fenelon brings an instance relating to the mystery o
the Trinity; after which he adds, " This exampl
" suffices to shew the usefulness of historical rela
" tions. Though they seem to lengthen out instruc
" tion, they very much abridge it, and take off fro
" the dryness of catechisms where the mysteries ar
" detached from facts. Thus we see, that formerl
" instructions were given by stories. The admirabl
" manner by which St. Augustin advises all igno
" rant persons to be instructed, was not a metho
" introduced by that father alone, it was the metho
" and practice of the universal church, and consist
" ed in shewing, by a series of historical facts, tha
" the christian religion was as old as the world
" that Christ was expected in the Old Testamen
" and reigned in the New; which is the substanc
" of the instruction of a christian.

" This requires indeed somewhat more time an
" care than is usually spent by a great many perso
" upon instruction; but then religion is not tru
" known, unless we descend to these particulars
" and whoever is ignorant of them, can have no
" ther than confused notions of Jesus Christ, of th

" gospe

" gospel, of the church, and of the main virtues " which christianity should inspire us with. [t] The " historical catechism lately printed, which is plain " and short, and far clearer than the common cate- " chisms, contains all that is necessary to be known " upon this subject. Thus it cannot be said that it " requires a great deal of study."

M. de Fenelon, after he has run over and pointed out the most remarkable stories of the Old and New Testament, adds as follows: " Choose out the " most wonderful stories of the martyrs, and some- " thing in gross of the heavenly life of the first " christians; add to them the courage of young " virgins, the surprizing austerities of the monks, " the conversion of the emperors and the empire, " the blindness of the Jews, and their terrible pu- " nishment, which still subsists.

" All these stories, discreetly managed, will give " the children with pleasure the whole series of re- " ligion from the creation of the world to our own " time, which will inspire them with very noble i- " deas, and such as will never be erazed. In this " history they will see the hand of God always rai- " sed to deliver the righteous and confound the " wicked. They will be accustomed to see God do- " ing all in every thing, and secretly leading to his " designs such creatures as seem most remote from " them. But in this collection such stories must " be chose, as convey the most pleasing and sublime " images, as we must use our utmost endeavours to " make religion appear beautiful, and august to the " children; whereas they usually represent it to " themselves, as something morose and insipid."

A solid instruction, like this we have mentioned, is a powerful remedy against superstition. " No- " thing must ever be suffered," says the same M. de Fenelon, " to be mingled with the faith or the " practice of piety, which is not taken from the go- " spel, or authorized by a constant approbation of

[t] Of M. l'Abbé Fleury.

" the church. The children must be discreetly
" guarded against certain abuses which some are
" tempted to look upon as points of discipline, who
" are not well instructed. We cannot entirely avoid
" it, unless we go back to the original, search into
" the institution of things, and the use which the
" saints have made of them.

" Accustom then the children, who are naturally
" ly too credulous, not lightly to give into certain
" stories, which want authority, nor to practise cer-
" tain devotions, which an indiscreet zeal has in-
" troduced, without waiting for the approbation o
" the church."

We see by what I have just mentioned, the manner of giving youth solid instruction, and the necessity of employing the time spent in college, in teaching them " [u] to know Christ, his precepts, princi
" ples and remedies; in thoroughly explaining th
" gospel; in making them acquainted with th
" worth of man, whom God alone can make happy
" with his fall and misery, for which the incarna
" tion and death of a God were alone capable o
" providing a remedy. The corruption of his ow
" heart, which is subdued by self-love, and an affec
" tion for sensible objects; his inability to do an
" good of himself, and without the grace of Jesu
" Christ; and the continual danger he is exposed t
" by concupiscence, which still subsists though con
" quered.——It is also very important to inculca
" into them the great and efficacious truths of rel
" gion; how terrible God is in his judgments; ho
" different we shall find the state after death fro
" our present notions; how great a misery it is
" lose God irrevocably; how black sins are whi
" are committed after baptism; of what weight t
" life and death of Christ are to us, for which
" must give an account; how great folly there is
" despising eternal happiness; what holiness t
" grace of the new law requires in those who
" de

[u] Instruct. sur la man. d'élever les Noy. tom. 1. des lettres de p

" dead and buried with Chriſt, waſhed in his blood,
" conſecrated by the infuſion of his ſpirit, nouriſh-
" ed by his fleſh, and united in ſo intimate a man-
" ner to his divinity."

There is no perſon, in my opinion, but upon reading what I have here laid down, muſt agree, that this is doubtleſs the only method of rightly inſtructing the boys in matters of religion. This method requires time and care, but we are ſufficiently recompenſed for all our pains, by the fruit we have reaſon to expect from it. Let us now enquire when we muſt give theſe inſtructions.

Sundays and holidays are the natural time for it. Theſe days, by their inſtitution, are ſet apart for divine worſhip, of which the word of God and inſtruction are a principal part. We know that they are with us what the ſabbath was amongſt the Jews, and we know likewiſe under how ſevere a puniſhment God required it to be kept holy. [x] *Whoever doth any work on the ſabbath day, he ſhall ſurely be put to death.* He gave up to the Jews the ſix other days for their own works, but reſerved the ſeventh for himſelf. [y] *Six days ſhalt thou labour and do all that thou haſt to do; but the ſeventh day is the ſabbath of the Lord thy God.* It was a day favoured by him with certain privileges, conſecrated only to his worſhip, and over which he was jealous, as of a day that belonged to him in a peculiar manner. [z] *Ye ſhall therefore keep the ſabbath.* He would not ſuffer them to walk abroad upon that day, but required them to tarry at home, that they might meditate there more freely upon his law. [a] *Abide ye every man in his place; let no man go out of his place on the ſeventh day.* And [b] laſtly, it is ſurprizing to ſee how often, and with

 what

[x] Exod. xxxi. 15.
[y] Ibid. xx. 9, 10.
[z] Ibid. xxxi. 14.
[a] Ibid. xvi. 29.
[b] Verily my ſabbaths ye ſhall keep.... that ye may know that I am the Lord..... Ye ſhall keep the ſabbath therefore, for it is holy unto you: Every one that defileth it ſhall ſurely be put to death.... Six days may work be done, but the ſeventh is the ſabbath of reſt, holy unto the Lord: whoſoever doth any work on the ſabbath day, he

what threatning God in a ſmall number of verſes repeats and inculcates this precept, and with what force he recommends the obſervation of it. It is very plain, that God no leſs requires of us the ſanctification of ſundays and holidays, and conſequently we ſee of what importance it is to accuſtom the boys early to the obſervation of them, and the rather as this precept is almoſt generally broken by all conditions, and eſpecially among perſons of quality. Thus it is a wiſe rule laid down in ſeveral colleges, not to let the penſioners go abroad on ſundays and holidays, but to employ the greateſt part of thoſe days in giving them inſtructions about religion. Parents have no cauſe to be diſpleaſed with the principal, who is exact and inflexible upon this point; at leaſt they cannot ſuſpect him of conſulting his own intereſt in it.

I have found by experience, how uſeful M. de Fenelon's maxim is of teaching the boys religion by hiſtorical facts, and at the ſame time how agreeable to that age. The greateſt part of the inſtructions I gave in college turned upon the Old Teſtament. All the great truths of religion, either in point of doctrine or morality, are to be found there; and laid down in this manner, they make an impreſſion on the mind of young people, which is the more ſtrong and laſting, as they are joined to hiſtorical facts, which are not ſo eaſily eraſed out of their memory.

To theſe inſtructions, which I regularly gave after morning and evening ſervice, I joined another which was ſtill more uſeful. When their recreation was ended, which upon thoſe days ſhould be very long for children ſtand in need of reſt and refreſhment they all retired to their chambers. Then the biggeſt boys ſpent an hour in reading in their cloſets three or four hiſtorical chapters of the Old Teſtament, o

which

he ſhall ſurely be put to death. Wherefore the children of Iſrael ſhall keep the ſabbath, to obſerve the ſabbath throughout their generations, for a perpetual covenant. It is a ſign between me and the children of Iſrael for ever. Exod. xxxi. 13---17.

which they came afterwards to give me an account towards the evening in the chapel. I asked the scholars, without observing any order, what they had taken notice of in their reading, and have oft been surprised at their sensible and judicious reflections, which I valued the more, as they came from themselves, and were not suggested to them. It is easy to comprehend how useful this sort of exercise may be to the boys, not only to instruct them in religion, but likewise for the improvement of their understanding and judgment.

Besides these instructions, there must be one day in the week set apart for the explanation of the catechism, and this is usually practised in all colleges. I have elsewhere spoke of the manner of catechising, whilst I was discoursing upon the eloquence of the pulpit, which must be different according to the difference of ages. I shall here make but one observation more, which I have seen practised with a great deal of success. The instructions which are given to scholars of a more advanced age, as in the class of rhetoric and philosophy, must be more emphatical and sublime, and generally turn upon a continued plan of religion. In some colleges, the scholars are obliged to set down in writing what they have understood, and give a summary of the catechism which has been explained to them, and several will do it with such an exactness, as is surprising to the masters. The same thing is practised in several parishes of Paris, and I have known some young girls succeed in it very well.

I shall say but one word more concerning the instructions relating to servants. It is one of the essential duties of the principal. He owes them this reward for the services they do the college, and he owes this example to the boys, to teach them what God will one day require of them. Persons of wealth and quality are almost entirely ignorant of the obligations they lie under in this particular. They forget that their servants have any other master than themselves whom they ought to serve, and consequently

consequently know; and that, for this reason, it is their indispensable duty to see them instructed in religion, to watch over their conduct, to allow them time, and procure them means of fulfilling the duties of Christianity; that they owe them these spiritual assistances still more than their food and raiment; that they must answer to God for the salvation of those that serve them, no less than their own; and that they are included in the number of those, whom St. Paul recommends the care of in such terms as should make all Christian masters tremble, [a] *but if any provide not for his own, especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.* There is therefore an absolute necessity of instructing youth in this duty, and giving them an example of it, by the exact care taken in the instruction of servants.

It might be of use to give servants now and then such books as are proper to instruct them in religion, and increase their piety, a New Testament, the Imitation of Jesus Christ, and other books of like nature. The expence is not very great, and may draw down a blessing upon the college. The principal, masters and parents, may all contribute something towards it; and it would be neither indifferent or difficult to accustom the boys to give something out of their pocket-money for the use of these pious liberalities.

2. *Of the Use of* Sacraments.

As the sacraments are the ordinary channel, by which God communicates to us the assistances we stand in need of to live and die like Christians, it is very important to inspire the boys with a profound respect for these sacred springs of grace and salvation, which will accompany them all the rest of their lives, and will learn them early to make an holy and beneficial use of them.

1. *Of*

[a] 1 Tim. v. 8.

1. *Of* Baptism.

We now receive baptism at an age, which does not admit of our attention either to the august ceremonies that are observed in it, or to the engagements we take upon ourselves. It is therefore necessary to recal them to mind at a time when we are better able to profit by them. We must not therefore fail to make the children renew the vows they made in their baptism, either upon the anniversary of the day they received it, or upon the eves of Easter and Whitsuntide, which were formerly the only days, whereon this sacrament was administred in a public and solemn manner.

To reap the greater advantage from this pious practice, it may be proper to have the boys present at the baptism of some child, that they may have the stronger impression of what is afterwards to be explained to them. "This, says M. de Fenelon, "will give them a deeper sense of the spirit and "end of it. By this you'll make them understand "how great it is to be a Christian, and how shame-"ful and terrible it is to be such as the generality "of mankind are. Often put them in mind of the "promises they made in their baptism, to shew "them that the examples and maxims of the world "should be so far from having any authority over "us, that they ought to make us suspect whatever "flows from so odious and poisonous a source. "Fear not to represent to them with St. Paul, the "devil reigning in the world, and influencing the "hearts of men with all the violent passions which "make them fond of riches, glory and pleasures. "It is this pomp, you may say to them, which still "more properly belongs to the devil than the "world; it is this spectacle of vanity, to which a "Christian must not open his heart, or his eyes. "The first step a Christian makes by baptism is to "renounce all the pomps and vanities of this

"wicked

"wicked world. To be fond of the world, after "such solemn promises made to God, is to relapse "into a kind of apostasy."

2. *Of the* EUCHARIST.

The first communion of the boys should be looked upon as the most important action of their lives, for which they cannot be too much prepared. They must be disposed for it some time before, be early spoke to about it, be taught to consider it as the greatest happiness that can happen to them on earth, be inspired with an eager desire after it, and above all have a thorough sense of the great purity of morals, which so sacred an action requires.

It is hard to fix the time of the first communion, as it must not depend upon the age, but the disposition of the children, and still more upon the state of their consciences.

The sentiments of M. de Fenelon upon this article, are, in my opinion, very judicious; and without presuming to lay down a rule for any body, I think it proper to propose it here: "The first com- "munion, says he, should, as I think, be made at "the time when the infant, arrived at the use of "reason, shall appear most apt to learn, and ex- "empt from every considerable fault. It is amidst "these first fruits of faith and the love of God, "that Jesus Christ will exhibit himself to him by "the graces of the communion. When, therefore, "we shall find the qualifications here spoke of uni- "ted in the children, a fund of docility, and an "exemption from every considerable fault, and "consequently a great purity of manners, the first "fruits, that is, the beginning, though as yet weak "and imperfect, of faith and the love of God: "We have reason to believe, that God will give a "blessing to a first communion received in this con- "dition, and that it may serve to strengthen and "increase such happy dispositions more and more.

"When

" When, on the other hand, we obſerve quite " oppoſite diſpoſitions in the children, an expreſs " indocility, which bears inſtructions and remon- " ſtrances with pain; vicious habits, to which their " frequent relapſes prove that they are very much " addicted; no notion of faith, no mark of the " love of God; it is then evident, that we ought " to delay it, till we have better evidence of a ſin- " cere change, and a true converſion."

The ſame may be ſaid of the other communions during the whole courſe of the year. The boys ſhould be inſpired with a fervent deſire of communicating often, be made to underſtand that the body of Chriſt ſhould be our daily bread; that the primitive Chriſtians very often approached to the euchariſt, and derived thence that ſtrength and courage, which were then ſo neceſſary to them, and are now no leſs neceſſary to us; and that the greateſt, or rather the only grief of a Chriſtian, ſhould be, to ſee himſelf deprived of the communion through his own fault. [a] *Unus ſit nobis dolor hâc eſcâ privari.*

At the ſame time, they muſt be well inſtructed in the diſpoſitions neceſſary for the worthy receiving of the euchariſt, and above all be made ſenſible, what a horrible crime it is to receive it with a conſcience defiled with any mortal ſin; that this would be to betray Chriſt by a kiſs like the perfidious Judas; to crucify him afreſh; to tread under foot the ſon of God; to count the blood of the covenant, wherewith he has ſanctified us, an unholy thing; and to do deſpite unto the Spirit of Grace. We ought to uſe our utmoſt endeavours to inſpire the boys with all poſſible horror for receiving unworthily; and I think they are very happy, when they carry from college a ſincere and ſolid reſpect for the ſacraments.

3. *Of*

[a] Chryſoſtom.

3. *Of* Devotions.

There are certain short and easy devotions, which are no trouble to the boys, but may put them in mind of several duties which are usually neglected, and accustom them to give piety a share in most of their actions.

We cannot too earnestly, nor too frequently inculcate into the boys those words of the gospel: [a] *This is life eternal, that they might know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.* They teach us that true piety is founded on the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, that is, of his mysteries, his precepts, and his example. What the evangelists relate of his behaviour in his infancy, should be perfectly known and familiar to them, especially [b] what he did in the temple at twelve years old; a valuable circumstance, which it has pleased Christ to preserve in the gospel, that boys might find there a perfect model of all the virtues that are suitable to their age. [c] He must often be represented to them, as full of tenderness for children, as laying his hands upon them and blessing them, giving them access to him, declaring that the kingdom of heaven belonged to them, and willing to consider what was done to them, as done to himself.

As soon as the children awake in the morning, as if God said to them that moment, [d] *My son, give me thy heart;* let them answer, "I offer myself to "thee, O God, with all my heart." [e] *Corde magno et animo volenti.* And let all their studies begin with a short prayer.

Prayers before and after meals are regularly observed in every college; and though nothing can be more just and reasonable than to pay this public homage to the goodness and liberality of God, from whom

[a] John xvii. 3.
[b] Luke ii. 41, 52.
[c] Mat. xix. 13, 14.—Luke ix. 48.
[d] Prov. xxiii. 26.
[e] Macc. i. 3.

whom we have every thing, and to whom we ought conſequently to return thanks for all; yet now, to the ſhame of our age, this ſacred cuſtom, confirmed by the uſe of all times, even among the pagans, is aboliſhed more and more every day amongſt us, eſpecially with the rich and great, who have ſcarce any footſteps of it amongſt them, and ſeem as though they were aſhamed of appearing Chriſtians. The children ſhould be forewarned againſt theſe abuſes, by being accuſtomed, even at breakfaſt and drinking, to beg a bleſſing upon the food they are about to eat. One may take occaſion to inſtruct them upon this ſubject, by explaining to them what is ſaid of Jeſus Chriſt; that as he ſat at meat with his two diſciples that went to Emmaus, [f] *He took bread and bleſſed it, and brake it, and gave to them.*

I have no need to take notice of the indiſpenſable obligation we are under to pray every day for the king's moſt ſacred majeſty. The ſtatute of the univerſity is herein very expreſs, and is exactly obſerved.

We muſt likewiſe remember the wants, whether public, of the church and ſtate, or private, of our relations and friends.

We muſt not forget, in Ember weeks, to put the boys in mind of joining with the common prayers of the church, and deſiring of God, that he would be pleaſed to grant us repentance, and pardon our ſins, to beſtow his bleſſing upon the fruits of the earth, and to give his church good paſtors and miniſters. Upon the day of ordination, they may add this prayer taken out of ſcripture. [g] *Lord Jeſus, thou fold of the ſheep, by whom whoſoever entreth in ſhall be ſaved; Thou good ſhepherd, who haſt laid down thy life for the ſheep, have mercy upon thy people, who are afflicted and ſcattered abroad, as ſheep not having a ſhepherd. The harveſt truly is great, but the labourers are few; we pray thee, therefore, the Lord of the harveſt, to ſend forth labourers into thy harveſt.*

[f] Luke xxiv. 30. [g] John x.—Matt. ix.—Acts i.

veſt. Thou, Lord, who knoweſt the hearts of all men ſhew whom thou haſt choſen. Amen.

When any of our relations or friends, any biſhop or magiſtrate, is dangerouſly ill, we may ſay every day at the end of our meals, [h] *Lord, he whom thou loveſt is ſick.* When he is out of danger, we may return thanks for him thus: *We give thee thanks, O Lord, for thy ſervant, whoſe ſickneſs was not unto death, but for thy glory.* If he dies, we may pray to God for him after his death.

Every ſcholar may give notice of the day of his birth and baptiſm, and deſire the reſt to remember him at the morning ſervice, and give thanks for it for him and with him.

Theſe ſmall devotions, which are very eaſy in themſelves, and which have place upon different occaſions, according to different wants, are of ſervice, as we eaſily ſee, to inſpire youth with a diſpoſition towards piety, and to accuſtom them early to diſcharge certain duties of religion, which are uſually not known or neglected.

CHAP. II.

Of the Duty of the REGENTS.

AFTER what I have already ſaid of the manner of teaching, which principally concerns the regents, I have little to add upon this ſubject. I ſhall reduce it to four or five articles; the diſcipline of the claſſes; the exerciſes made in them to qualify the ſcholars for appearing in public; the compoſitions and public actions; the ſtudies of the maſters; and the application of all that has been ſaid to the order and government of the claſſes.

ARTICL

[h] John xi. 3.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

Of the Diſcipline of the Claſſes.

THIS conſiſts in keeping the ſcholars in order, in making themſelves heard in ſilence, and obeyed at the firſt ſignal; in which the authority of the maſter is principally ſeen, a rare quality, but abſolutely neceſſary for the maintaining of an exact diſcipline. I have ſpoke of it in another place.

I have likewiſe already obſerved that emulation is the great advantage of the claſſes. We cannot be too careful to excite and ſupport it among the ſcholars. There are a thouſand different ways of ſucceeding in it, which depend upon the induſtry and activity of a maſter, zealous for the advancement of his diſciples. The greateſt art and skill lies in inſpiring boys of a moderate genius with an inclination to take pains.

But the moſt eſſential part of the diſcipline of the claſſes relates to morality and religion; not that I think the regents ought to ſpeak much or frequently upon this ſubject, for this would be the ſureſt way to diſguſt the boys. But this object muſt be their principal motive, and always in view. They muſt never loſe ſight of it, though they do not ſeem always attentive to it. They muſt artfully lay hold of every occaſion that offers to make ſome remarks, or lay down ſome principles which relate to it; and though it be but ſometimes a word which ſeems dropped by chance, yet it is very often attended with great effects. [i] Thus a compariſon drawn from the public ſhews by St. Auguſtin, whilſt he was explaining a paſſage of a certain author in rhetoric,

 ſerved

i Et forte lectio in manibus erat, quam dum exponerem, opportune mihi videbatur adhibenda ſimilitudo Circenſium, quo illud, quod inſinuabam, et jucundius et planius fieret, cum irriſione mordaci eorum, quos illa captivaſſet inſania. Conf. lib. vi. c. 7.

ſerved to open the eyes of St. Alpius, who was then his diſciple, and was fond of thoſe ſhews to a degree of frenzy.

Beſides theſe public and common inſtructions, the regent may ſtill be very ſerviceable to the ſcholars by his watchfulneſs over their conduct; by the particular converſations he has ſometimes with them; by his inſtructions and admonitions; by the care he takes of placing them in the claſs near ſuch companions, as may not be dangerous to them, and by a thouſand other circumſtances of a like nature.

One of the ſureſt means to be uſeful to them, is to keep up an acquaintance with their parents, to get information from them of their characters and conduct; upon the firſt abſence of a ſcholar to give them immediate notice of it, to prevent the conſequences, for which otherwiſe he might be reſponſible. This practice is more eſpecially neceſſary in philoſophy, when the ſcholars are allowed a greater liberty. I know the generality of parents give themſelves little trouble about ſeeing the profeſſors, and I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſpeak upon this abuſe, but their careleſſneſs muſt not hinder nor diminiſh the others zeal.

I ſhould do wrong to the probity and religion of the profeſſors, if I ſpent any time here in proving that the care of inſtilling good morals is an eſſential part of their duty. To think otherwiſe would be to throw a blemiſh upon themſelves, and ſink them below the condition of Pagan maſters.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

To make the Scholars appear in public.

THERE are ſeveral ways of improving the boy in ſpeaking, and of making them appear in public, which may all have their uſe. I ſhall here mention only two, which are moſt in practice in the u-

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niverſity; to which I ſhall add ſome inſtructions and rules concerning pronunciation.

1. *Of* Exercises.

By exerciſes are meant the public acts in which the ſcholars give an account of the authors they have read either in their claſs or in private, and of all that has been the ſubject of their ſtudies. This ſort of exerciſe muſt have been judged very uſeful, and been entirely acceptable to the public, ſince in a very little time, without any order of the univerſity, it has been adopted by all the colleges, paſt from thence into private houſes, and made it's way into all the provinces.

In ſhort, the plaineſt, moſt natural, and at the ſame time moſt advantageous manner of producing the boys in public, is this method of making them give an account of the authors which have been explained to them. By this means they are kept to a cloſe application during a whole year, and obliged to purſue their ſtudies with greater attention, by looking forward upon the public at a diſtance, as the future witneſſes and judges of the progreſs they ſhall make. They likewiſe acquire a decent aſſurance, by being early accuſtomed to appear in public, to ſpeak before company, and not be afraid of being ſeen; and by being cured of a timidity, which is natural and pardonable in that age, that might be an obſtacle to part of the good they may afterwards do, and which often becomes invincible, when care is not taken to conquer it in their youth.

Some perſons have been of opinion, that we ought to make them ſpeak Latin in theſe exerciſes. I was once in the ſame way of thinking and practice; but experience has convinced me that it was leſs uſeful to the boys. The principal end propoſed by them is to prepare them for the employments they are one day to exerciſe, to give inſtructions, to plead, report affairs, and to ſpeak their opinions in company.

Now all this is done in the mother tongue, and almoſt in the ſame manner as in theſe exerciſes. Beſides, can it be thought eaſy, or even poſſible for a young man to explain himſelf elegantly in Latin? How great a reſtraint muſt this be to a ſcholar? Is it not to take from him the one half of his underſtanding, and to diſable him from producing his thoughts clearly, wherein the advantage and pleaſure of theſe exerciſes principally conſiſt? And laſtly, is it fit we ſhould abſolutely neglect the care of our own tongue, which we are to make uſe of every day, and give up our whole application to dead and foreign languages? The ſentiments of the public upon this point have been very clear.

We are now to enquire after what manner theſe exerciſes are to be made. The ſureſt means of ſucceeding in them, as in every thing elſe, is by uniting pleaſure with profit.

Omne tulit punctum, qui miſcuit utile dulci.

The uſeful muſt take place, that is, a young man muſt have carefully ſtudied the author, whom he undertakes to explain; he muſt give an account of the difficulties that are found in him; clear up the obſcure places; ſhew the force and energy of the thoughts and expreſſions; and endeavour to render the ſenſe and beauties of the original in the tranſlation he ſhall give of it *extempore*.

If the exerciſe is in Greek, eſpecially at the beginning, the reſpondent muſt be able to give an account of every word; what it is, in what caſe, and why, what tenſe, and mood, what is its ſignification, and whence it is derived, and muſt be able to form *extempore* all the tenſes of a verb, agreeably to the rules of his grammar; and the ſame may be ſaid in reſpect to a Latin author with reference to young beginners. They muſt alſo have ſome acquaintance with the hiſtorical facts related in it, of the ſituation of the towns and rivers it mentions, as alſo of the fables,

fables, if any occur. In the higher classes these parts of learning must have a larger extent.

This is what I call the ground of these exercises, the basis whereon they are built, and which must be always supposed; that is, in effect, that the scholar is a perfect master of the authors and subjects whereupon he is to answer. But he must not stop here; and the master's skill in these exercises lies in introducing somewhat agreeable, and avoiding the dryness and mere grammaticality, which is apt to make them tedious to the audience.

There are two things in my opinion, which may very much contribute to make these exercises agreeable. The first is, that the respondent particularly apply himself to point out the beauties of the author which he explains, upon which I have been very large in the two first volumes of this work. The second, that he make judicious reflections upon the maxims, which occur in the books, whereof he gives an account; and it is of this I have endeavoured to give some models in my two last volumes. I have always observed that these two things were very grateful to the audience; as they shew the boys taste and judgment, which is a matter of the greatest moment, and to which the masters should chiefly apply themselves.

I think therefore, that besides the main study I have spoke of, in which the useful and solid part of these exercises consists, we may prepare certain passages after a particular manner, give some sheets of them to the scholars, and make them read them carefully several times over, and even get them by heart, especially at the beginning. It is sure that passages thus carefully prepared by a skilful master, must please much more than any thing a boy can say *extempore*. He is hereby taught and accustomed to think justly and speak well, he adds reflections to it of his own, which are occasioned by the questions asked him by the interrogator. But I do not think it proper to charge the me-

mory of the boys with agreat number of theſe kind of ſheets; for fear they ſhould rely too much upon the maſter's care, and not take the pains they ought of themſelves, but neglect even the ſtudy of the author, upon whom they are to anſwer.

There is another manner of interrogating, which contributes very much to ſet off the reſpondent, upon which we may ſay the ſucceſs of an exerciſe depends. Our buſineſs here is not to inſtruct the ſcholar, and ſtill leſs to perplex him with intricate queſtions, but to give him an opportunity of ſhewing what improvements he has made. We are to ſound his underſtanding and ſtrength. We muſt therefore propoſe nothing to him beyond his capacity, nothing, to which we may not reaſonably preſume that he can give an anſwer. We muſt chooſe out the beautiful paſſages of an author, upon which we may be ſure he is better prepared than any other, and which by their beauty moſt nearly concern the hearer. When he makes a repetition, he muſt not be interrupted inopportunely, but be ſuffered to go on till he has done, and then the difficulties are to be propoſed with ſo much art and perſpicuity, that the ſcholar, if he has any capacity, may diſcover in them the ſolution he is to give. The objector muſt lay down this rule, that he muſt ſpeak little, but put the reſpondent upon talking much; and laſtly, he muſt endeavour to make him only appear to advantage, without conſidering himſelf, by which means he will never fail to pleaſe the audience, and gain their eſteem.

The ordinary ſubject of the exerciſes muſt be what is explained in the claſs, during the courſe of the year. So that by way of preparation little elſe is wanting, than to attend diligently to the inſtructions of the profeſſor. A more induſtrious ſcholar, who has alſo private aſſiſtance, may add ſomething farther of his own; and herein his zeal is very commendable, provided this extraordinary pains be not prejudicial to the eſſential duties of the claſs.

I would have it laid down as a rule in these exercises, whatever author is explained, especially if it is in Greek, to begin with an explanation upon opening of the book, and that the scholar should express in few words, what is the meaning of the passages upon which he first casts his eye. It is the means of obliging the respondent to be equally prepared upon the whole, and to prove to the auditors that the exercises are justly performed.

This foundation once laid, I must repeat it again, that we ought to use all our care to make the exercises agreeable. We have often seen very numerous audiences pay a surprising attention for a very long time, because the subjects were treated of in a very engaging manner.

A boy, for instance, is to answer upon the gospel of St. Luke in Greek. After he has explained, by way of trial, as I have said, some line on both sides upon the opening of the book, he stops at the most remarkable history; for instance, that of Lazarus and Dives. He repeats it, by adding such Latin and Greek passages of the gospel, as contain some excellent maxim. [k] *And it came to pass that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom.—The rich man also died, and was buried, and in hell he lift up his eyes.—I am tormented in this flame.—But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things. But now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.* The scholar is asked, which of the two he had rather be, the rich man or Lazarus; and he makes no hesitation about the choice. He is then asked his reasons, and the passage which he explains supplies him with them. By this means, the way is pointed out, and an opportunity given him of making very solid reflections of his own, or at least from the book he has in his hand, upon the principal circumstances of this story. Upon this occasion, they are made to rehearse whatever is said in the same gospel upon poverty and riches. It is

[k] Luke xvi. 22, 24, 25.

is easy to to discern how by this means, under the appearance of teaching a boy the Greek language, very excellent principles may be instilled into him, and the audience seem always to break up well satisfied with this sort of exercise.

When the scholars answer upon Quintus Curtius, Sallust, Livy, or some lives of Plutarch; how many reflections may be made upon the actions of the great men there mentioned? It is not surprising, that auditors of understanding and taste should be charmed with the many excellent things they hear said by the boys, and with seeing them apply what is most useful and solid in the ancient authors.

One of the exercises, which meets with the best success, and is most pleasing to the public, is upon rhetoric. A boy is made to read certain select passages of Tully and Quintilian, wherein the great principles of eloquence are laid down; and these he is made to learn by heart, during the course of the year, instead of his ordinary lessons. He is then obliged to make an application of them to the orations of Demosthenes and Tully, which have before been carefully explained to him. He is next made to point out the difference of style and character in those two great orators, who have been ever looked upon as the most perfect models of eloquence. The best lawyers we have, who were present in great numbers at such an exercise, performed by the [1] son of an eminent magistrate, went away extremely well pleased; and it must be owned the respondent spoke with all the grace that could be desired.

There has lately been an attempt made to introduce a new kind of exercise into the college, which we have reason to hope will be attended with great advantage, from the good success it has already met with. It relates to the French tongue. Two younger brothers, one of which was in the fifth class, and the other in the third, were made to read

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[1] The eldest son of the procureur-general M. de Fleury.
[m] Sons of the same M. de Fleury.

ſome ſelect remarks upon this language, that were carefully extracted from ſeveral books which treat upon this ſubject. They made the application of them to certain paſſages, taken from the hiſtory of Theodoſius by M. Flechier, which were propoſed to them upon the opening of the book; and they obſerved, at the ſame time, as is uſual in explaining a Latin author, whatever was moſt beautiful and remarkable, either as to thought and expreſſion, or the principles and conduct. This interrogation, added to the other ſubjects of that exerciſe, ſeemed very acceptable to the public, and gave reaſon to wiſh, that it may be continued for the future. And indeed, is it not reaſonable to cultivate the ſtudy of our own natural tongue with ſome care, whilſt we ſpend ſo much time upon ancient and foreign languages?

2. *Of* Tragedies.

This kind of exerciſe has been of long ſtanding in the univerſity, and is ſtill in uſe in ſeveral colleges, whilſt others have wholly laid it aſide. Without taking upon me to condemn thoſe of my brethren, who think differently from me upon this head, which is not my office, I cannot avoid extremely approving their conduct, who think they ought abſolutely to reject the cuſtom of exerciſing boys in declamation, by making them repeat tragedies, as, in my opinion, this cuſtom is attended with very great inconveniencies.

1. What a burthen is it upon a regent to be obliged to make a tragedy? Is not the profeſſion hard enough of itſelf, without loading it ſtill farther with the yoke of ſo heavy and diſagreeable a taſk?

2. I call it an heavy and diſagreeable taſk, becauſe he can ſcarce ever promiſe himſelf, that he ſhall ſucceed in it. We know how much pains M. Racine was at in compoſing the plays he has left behind him; and yet, beſides an admirable genius for poetry, and very ſingular talents for theatrical repreſentations, he

he was abſolute maſter of his time. What then ca
we expect from a regent, who is otherwiſe very muc
employed, and may have all the merit that belong
to his profeſſion, without the talent of writing goo
French verſe, much leſs of making large poems?

3. If any thing is likely to ruin the health of
profeſſor, it is the exerciſing eight or ten ſcholars i
declaiming for a conſiderable time. He muſt hav
lungs of iron, as Juvenal expreſſes it of the maſte
of rhetoric, to hold up under ſo terrible a fatigue.

Declamare doces, ô ferrea pectora, Vecti.

I appeal for the truth of it to experience.

4. It often happens that the ſcholars, under pr
tence of preparing for the tragedy, abandon or n
glect the eſſential duty of the claſs for near tw
months, which is no ſmall inconvenience.

5. I do not inſiſt upon the expence which nece
ſarily attends theſe tragedies, nor upon the difficul
there often is to find actors, who ſometimes thin
they have a right to treat the profeſſor as they pleaſ
becauſe he cannot do without them.

6. Farther, the boys derive no ſolid or laſting ad
vantage from this exerciſe. For uſually a day
two after the tragedy is acted, they forget all th
have been at ſo much trouble to learn by heart.

Part of theſe inconveniencies has been endeavou
ed to be remedied, by making choice of tragedi
compoſed by the beſt authors, and adapting them
the theatre of the colleges, that is, by cutting off t
parts the women have in them; and it muſt be ow
ed they have in ſome meaſure ſucceeded therei
and by this means have filled the memory of t
boys with excellent pieces of poetry, which may
very uſeful for the improvement of their unde
ſtanding and taſte.

7. But there may be a fault even in this cuſto
which is common to good and bad tragedies. [n] Qui
tili

[n] Ne geſtus quidem omnis ac motus à comœdis petendus
Quamquam enim utrumque eorum ad quendam modum præſtare
bet orator, plurimum tamen aberit à Scenico. Quint. lib. i. c.

tilian obſerves after Tully, that there is a great difference between the pronunciation of players and orators; though it muſt be owned that the one may be of ſervice to the other. If ſo, why ſhould we exerciſe the boys in a manner of pronunciation, which they muſt neceſſarily avoid, when they come to ſpeak in public?

8. One of the greateſt troubles of the regent in this exerciſe, as I have often experienced, and am not the only one that has done it, is to keep the ſcholars in order, whom he is often obliged to join all together, and over whom it is difficult to have a proper eye; as the care of forming the actors actually takes up the whole attention of the maſter.

9. To be ſhort, I ſhall conclude with the inconvenience that muſt be looked upon as the greateſt, as it may be prejudicial to piety and good manners; and that is, the danger there is in this ſort of exerciſe of creating a deſire both in maſters and ſcholars, as is very natural, of informing themſelves with their own eyes of the manner they ought to act tragedies, and to this end of frequenting the theatre, and growing fond of plays, which may have very bad conſequences, eſpecially at their age.

What contributes moſt, if I miſtake not, to continue the uſe of tragedies, is that ſeveral look upon them as the only means of giving a certain ſolemnity to the diſtribution of prizes ſo neceſſary to excite and ſupport a ſpirit of emulation among the boys, which is one of the great advantages of colleges. To this I cannot oppoſe a better anſwer than experience itſelf. I have ſeen the prizes diſtributed for above twenty years together in common exerciſes with very great ſolemnity and a great concourſe of perſons of diſtinction, who during the whole exerciſe kept a profound ſilence, which does not always happen when plays are repreſented. This is not peculiar to one college. There are ſeveral wherein theſe exerciſes are performed with great reputation, and very lately in the college De la Marche, there

was

was one for the distribution of prizes, where th audience was very numerous and well chosen, an the [o] respondent acquired a very great reputation.

All these reasons, joined together, make me think that tragedies are less proper for the boys, than th other exercises I have spoke of. But as every on is at liberty to think as he pleases, and opinions di fer upon this subject, I shall not blame those wh keep to the old custom, and use all the caution ne cessary in it.

One of the most essential, in my opinion, is ne to give the passion of love any admittance into th tragedies, how honest and lawful soever it may ap pear. "Whatever excites love, [p] says M. de Fen "lon, the more artful and concealed it lies, appea "to me more dangerous." M. de Rochefoucau is of the same opinion. "All great diversions, say "he, are dangerous to a christian; but of all tha "have been invented, there is none we have "much reason to fear as plays. The passions ar "there so naturally and artfully delineated, tha "they raise and imprint them in our heart, esp "cially that of love; and principally, when it is re "presented as chaste and honest; for the more in "nocent it appears to innocent souls, the more ca "pable they are of being affected with it, &c."

I speak not here of the balls and dancing whic sometimes accompany tragedies, because this custo has no place in the university.

There has farther crept in a more intolerable a buse, expressly [q] forbidden by the law of God; cannot tell whence it arose, though it has lasted long time; I mean that of dressing the boys in tra gedies in women's clothes. Could they not kno for the course of so many years, that such a custom to use the words of scripture, was abominable in th sig

[o] The son of M. de Ficubet counsellor of parliament.

[p] Educat. des filles.

[q] The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a ma nei her shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do are an abomination unto the Lord thy God. Deut. xxii. 5.

ſight of God? The imprudence of ſome perſon, perhaps very ignorant, or not over religious, might have at firſt introduced it; and then the cuſtom was followed without reflection, when once eſtabliſhed. As ſoon as the univerſity forbad it, all the world opened their eyes, and ſubmitted to ſo prudent and neceſſary a regulation. Thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare in it, were principally determined to it by what they had heard of a [r] famous profeſſor, a man of excellent probity, who upon his death-bed expreſſed a great concern for having given into this cuſtom, which he knew had occaſioned diſorders among ſome of his ſcholars. We ſhould place ourſelves in that hour and ſituation, to form a right judgment of what we ought to follow or reject in this life.

3. *Of* Pronunciation.

I have promiſed to ſay ſomewhat of pronunciation, which is a part of rhetoric, and this is the proper place for it. There is cauſe to fear that the maſters neglect it too much, both as to themſelves and their ſcholars. We ought, eſpecially in the higher claſſes, to ſet apart one day in the week to exerciſe the boys in declaiming, for at leaſt the ſpace of half an hour. This cuſtom was regularly practiſed whilſt I was a ſcholar, and I followed it exactly after I became a maſter. [s] Quintilian's treatiſe upon pronunciation is ſhort, but excellent; and may be very uſeful to the maſters, if they join with it that of [t] Tully. There is another in French, but in manuſcript, which belonged to the famous [u] M. Lenglet, who excelled in the art of pronouncing ſtill more than in other things. I ſhall make uſe of theſe different treatiſes in laying down the moſt general rules about pronunciation, and ſuch as are moſt in uſe.

[r] M. de Belleville profeſſor of rhetoric in the college du Pleſſis.
[s] Lib. xi. cap. 3. [t] Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 213, 217.
[u] M. Lenglet had it of a famous actor in his time, named Floridor.

[x] The anſwer of Demoſthenes, when aſked wha he thought the chief point in eloquence, is know to all the world, and ſhews, that this great ma looked upon pronunciation, not only as the mo important qualification of an orator, but in a certai ſenſe, as the only one. In ſhort, it is that qualit which can leaſt of all conceal its own defects, and i moſt capable of hiding others; and we often ſee that a mean diſcourſe, delivered with all the forc and charms of action, has a better effect than th moſt beautiful oration without them.

Action conſiſts of two parts, which are the voic and geſture, one of which ſtrikes the ears, and th other the eyes; two ſenſes by which we convey ou ſentiments and thoughts into the minds of the hea ers.

1. *Of the* Voice.

[y] Quintilian aſcribes the ſame qualifications to th voice and pronunciation as to diſcourſe.

1. It muſt be correct, that is, exempt from fault ſo that the ſound of the voice and the pronunciatio may have ſomething eaſy, natural, and agreeable i it, accompanied with a certain air of politeneſs an delicacy, which the ancients called urbanity, an conſiſts in removing from it every foreign and r ſtic ſound.

2. The pronunciation muſt be clear, to which tw things will contribute; firſt, the right articulatio of every ſyllable; for ſometimes ſome are ſuppreſſe whilſt others are but lightly touched upon. But t moſt common fault, and moſt carefully to be avoi ed, is the not dwelling long enough upon the l ſyllables, and letting the voice fall at the end of p riods. [z] As it is neceſſary to expreſs every wor nothi

[x] Cic. lib. iii. de Orat. n. 213.

[y] Emendata erit, id eſt vitio carebit, ſi fuerit os facile, emen tum, jucundum, urbanum; id eſt, in quo nulla neque ruſticitas, que peregrinitas reſonet. Quintil.

[z] Ut eſt autem neceſſaria verborum explanatio, ita omnes com tare et velut annumerare literas, moleſtum et odioſum.

nothing is more disagreeable or insupportable, than a slow and drawling pronunciation, which calls over, in a manner, all the letters, and seems to count them one after another.

The second observation is, to know how to sustain and suspend the voice by the different rests and pauses, which enter into the same period. One instance will explain my meaning, which I shall take from another passage of [a] Quintilian. The points here express the pauses. *Animadverti judices, ... omnem accusatoris orationem . . . . in duas . . . . divisam esse partes.* This short period contains but one sense, which is not to be distinguished by any comma, except at the word *judices*, which is an apostrophe; and yet the cadence, the ear, and even the breath, require different rests, in which all the harmony of pronunciation consists. By accustoming the scholars to make these pauses as they read, even where there are no commas, they will be taught at the same time to pronounce well.

3. An ornamented pronunciation is that which is assisted with an happy organ, an easy, loud, flexible, firm, durable, clear, sonorous, mild, and piercing voice. For there is a voice made for the ear; not so much by its compass, as by a facility of being managed at will, susceptible of every sound from the strongest to the softest, from the highest to the lowest [b]; like an instrument well strung, which gives the sound the hand directs it to express. Besides this, a great force of breath is required, and lungs capable of holding out through the longest periods, and of dwelling upon them.

We do not make ourselves understood by violent and great pains, but by a clear and distinct pronunciation; and the principal skill is shewn, in artfully managing the different sallies of the voice, in begin-

[a] Lib. ix. cap. 4.

[b] Omnes voces, ut nervi in fidibus, ita sonant ut à motu animi quoque sunt pulsæ. Cic. lib. iii. de Orat. n. 216.

ning with a tone that may be raiſed or depreſſed without difficulty or conſtraint, and in ſo governing the voice, that it may be fully exerted in ſuch paſſages, where the diſcourſe requires great force and vehemence, and principally in ſtudying and copying nature in every thing.

The whole beauty of pronunciation lies in the union of two qualities, to all outward appearance oppoſite and inconſiſtent, equality and variety. By the firſt, the orator ſuſtains his voice, and governs the riſe and fall of it by fixed rules, which hinder him from being high and low as by chance, without obſerving any order or proportion. By the ſecond, he avoids one of the moſt conſiderable faults in pronunciation, I mean, a tedious keeping on in one and the ſame tone; and on the other hand, he [c] diffuſes through it an agreeable variety, which awakens, raiſes, and charms his audience, herein [d] reſembling the painters, who by a vaſt number of ſhadows and colourings, almoſt imperceptible, and an happy mixture of the light and ſhade, know how to ſet off their pictures, and give them the juſt proportions which every part demands. Quintilian applies this laſt rule to the firſt period of the exordium of Tully's beautiful oration in defence of Milo. This paſſage deſerves to be read to pupils.

There is another fault no leſs conſiderable, which likewiſe comes very near it, and is that of ſinging what one ſpeaks. This canting conſiſts in depreſſing or raiſing with a like tone ſeveral members of a period, or ſeveral periods together; ſo that the ſame inflections of the voice frequently return, and almoſt conſtantly in the ſame manner.

4. Laſtly, the pronunciation muſt be proportioned to the ſubjects expreſſed. This is more eſpecial-

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[c] Quid ad aures noſtras, et actionis ſuavitatem, quid eſt viciſſitudine, et varietate, et commutatione aptius? Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 225

[d] Hi ſunt actori, ut pictori, expoſiti ad variandum colores. Ib. n. 217.

ly ſeen in the paſſions, which have [e] all, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, a peculiar language and a particular tone. For anger ſhews itſelf one way, compaſſion another, and ſo the reſt. [f] To expreſs them well, we muſt begin with having a deep ſenſe of them; and to this end we ſhould livelily repreſent things to ourſelves, and be affected with them, as if they actually paſſed in us. Thus the voice, as the interpreter of our ſentiments, will eaſily convey the ſame diſpoſition into the mind of the auditors, it has derived from our own conceptions. It is the faithful image of the ſoul; it receives all the impreſſions and changes that the ſoul itſelf is capable of. Thus in joy it is clear, full and flowing; in ſorrow, on the other hand, it is ſlow, dull and gloomy. Anger makes it rough, impetuous and interrupted. In the confeſſion of a fault, making ſatisfaction, and intreating, it becomes ſmooth, fearful and ſubmiſſive. In a word, it follows nature, and borrows the tone of every paſſion.

The voice alſo varies, and aſſumes different tones, according to the different parts of a diſcourſe. It conforms itſelf to the difference of ſentiments, and ſometimes, though rarely, to the nature and force of certain particular expreſſions. [g] It would be evidently ridiculous, to begin a diſcourſe all at once in a loud and violent ſtrain; as nothing is more proper to gain upon others, than modeſty and reſervedneſs. Narrations deſigned to intereſt the audience in the point related, require a ſimple, uniform and calm voice, not much different from what we uſe in converſation, and ſo of all the reſt.

[e] Omnis motus animi ſuum quemdam à natura habet vultum, et ſonum, et geſtum, &c iii. de Orat. n. 216---219.

[f] In his primum eſt bene affici, et concipere imagines rerum, et tanquam veris moveri. Sic velut media vox, quem habitum à nobis acceperit, hunc judicum animis dabit. Eſt enim mentis index, et velut exemplar: ac totidem, quot illa mutationes habet. Quintil.

[g] A principio clamare, agreſte quiddam eſt. iii. de Orat. n. 227.

2. *Of* Gesture.

Gesture naturally follows the voice, and conforms itself in like manner to the sentiments of the soul. It is a mute language, but eloquent, and often has more force than speech itself.

As the head has the first place among the parts of the body, it has it also in action. The first rule is to keep it up and in a natural posture, the second to suit its motions to the pronunciation and the action of the orator. When we refuse or reject, or shew that we have an horror or execration of any thing or person, then, at the same time that we repel with the hand, we turn aside the head as a mark of aversion.

The countenance has a principal part in this point. There is no kind of motion or passion which it does not express. It threatens, it caresses, it intreats; it is sorrowful and merry, it is proud and humble, it testifies friendship towards some, and aversion to others; it gives us to understand abundance of things, and often says more than the most eloquent discourse could do.

I never could comprehend how the g use of masks came to continue so long upon the stage of the ancients. For certainly, it could not but suppress in a great measure the vivacity of action, which is principally seen in the countenance, and may properly be considered as the seat and mirrour of all the sentiments of the soul. Does it not frequently happen, that the blood, according as it is moved by different passions, shall sometimes overspread the countenance with a sudden and modest suffusion, sometimes inflame and kindle it into rage, sometimes

[a] The actors wore masks, which covered the whole head, and besides the features of the face, represented the beard, the hair, the ears, and all the ornaments of the womens head dress. This may explain what Phaedrus says in the fable of the mask and the fox,

Personam tragicam forte vulpes viderat,
O quanta species! inquit; cerebrum non habet.

times by retiring from the cheeks, leave them pale and cold with fear, and at other times diffuſe through it a gentle and amiable ſerenity. All this is expreſſed in the countenance. Now a maſk, by covering it, deprives it of this emphatical language, and takes from it a kind of life and ſoul, which makes it the faithful interpreter of all the ſentiments of the heart. I am not therefore ſurpriſed at the remark which Tully makes, when he is ſpeaking of Roſcius as an actor. Our old men, [h] ſays he, judge better than we, by not entirely approving even Roſcius himſelf, whilſt he ſpoke under his maſk.

[i] But the countenance has likewiſe one part ſupereminent above the reſt, *viz.* the eyes. It is by them eſpecially that the ſoul diſplays itſelf, and ſhews itſelf in a manner externally; ſo that even without moving of them, joy ſhall make them more lively, and ſorrow overcaſt them with a kind of cloud. Add to this, that nature has given them tears, the faithful interpreters of our thoughts, which impetuouſly force themſelves a paſſage in grief, and flow gently down in joy. But how expreſſive are they in the different motions imparted to them? They are bold or languid, haughty and threatening, mild, rough or terrible, and all this according to our wants, and the occaſion.

To be ſhort [k], I paſs to the hands, without the aſſiſtance of which, action would be languid and almoſt dead. How many motions are they capable of, ſince there is ſcarce a word which they are not ſometimes eager to expreſs? For the other parts of the body

[h] Quo melius noſtri illi ſenes, qui perſonatum, ne Roſcium quidem, magnopere laudabant. Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 221.

[i] Sed in ipſo vultu plurimum valent oculi, per quos animus maxime emanat; ut, citra motum quoque, et hilaritate enitescant, et triſtitia quoddam nubilum ducant. Quinetiam lacrymas his natura mentis indices dedit: quae aut erumpunt dolore aut laetitia manant. Motu vero intenti, remiſſi, ſuperbi, torvi, mites, aſperi fiunt: quae, ut actus popoſcerit, fingentur. Quintil.

[k] Manus vero, ſine quibus trunca eſſet actio ac debilis, vix dici poteſt quot motus habeant, cum pene ipſam verborum copiam perſequantur. Nam caeterae partes loquentem adjuvant: hae (prope ut dicam) ipſae loquuntur.

body aid and contribute to discourse, but these may be almost said to speak of themselves, and be understood. We know that the [l] Pantomimes professed to represent exactly, and in a manner to paint in their gestures and postures all the actions and passions of mankind. [m] The ancients called this act of the Pantomimes a kind of dumb music, which had found out a method of substituting the language of the hands to that of the mouth, of speaking to the eyes by the assistance of the fingers, and of expressing by silence, more eloquent and emphatical than words themselves, what could scarce be explained by discourse or writing.

The motion of the hands naturally follows the voice, and must conform to it. In common gesture, whilst we pronounce a period, we must carry the right hand from left to right, beginning at the breast and ending at the side, the fingers being a little raised above the wrist, open and at liberty, and the arm extended at full length, without raising the elbow as high as the shoulder, but keeping it always clear of the body, and observing that the gesture must ordinarily begin with the motion of the elbow. After this we carry the left hand from right to left, with the same proportions as were observed in the motion of the right hand. The arm must be held

[l] A prince of Pontus coming to Nero's court upon some business, and having seen a famous Pantomime dance with so much art, that though he understood nothing of what was sung, yet he was thereby able to comprehend what was meant, upon his departure desired the emperor to make him a present of that dancer. And upon Nero's asking what use he would make of him; why, says he, I have certain barbarians bordering upon my dominions, who speak a language which no body understands, and this man, by his gestures, shall serve me as an interpreter. Lucian de saltat.

[m] Hanc partem musicae disciplinae nutam nominavere majores scilicet quae ore clauso manibus loquitur, et quibusdam gesticulationibus facit intelligi, quod vix narrante lingua, aut scripturae textu, possit agnosci. Aurel. Cassiod. lib. i. epist. 10.

Loquacissimae manus, linguosi digiti, clamorum silentium, expositio tacita. . . . . Idem, lib. iv. epist. ult.

Mirari solemus Scenae peritos, quod in omnem significationem rerum et affectuum parata illorum est manus, et verborum velocitatem gestus assequitur. Senec. epist. 121.

held after each geſture cloſe to the ſide, till the period is at an end; and when it is finiſhed, the two hands muſt fall negligently upon the deſk, if it is from thence we ſpeak, and never below it; or at their full length before, if we ſpeak ſtanding, without any ſupport; or upon the knees, if ſitting on a chair. There are a thouſand methods of varying theſe geſtures, which are to be learnt from uſe and exerciſe alone.

There is a ſecond kind of geſture relating to the extent and dimenſions of every thing.

To expreſs any thing that is high, we muſt lift up our eyes as high as we can, without ſcarce raiſing the head, but turning it a little on one ſide, and throwing down both arms together at their full length, but keeping them clear of the body, and ſo as to have the outſide of the hands turned towards the auditor.

To ſhew the depth of any thing, we muſt caſt our eyes down to the ground, and ſtretch out both our arms on the oppoſite ſide ſomewhat raiſing them, and ſhewing the outſide of the hand, which is next the auditor, the other remaining more raiſed and free.

To expreſs breadth, it ſuffices to extend both hands at the ſame time, beginning always directly before us, and ending at the two ſides, but ſo as to keep the hands always upon a level with the wriſts, and to carry our eyes round the whole ſpace they are able to comprehend.

To expreſs length, we muſt ſtretch out both our arms either this way or that, but on the ſame ſide, ſo as to keep the hands upon a level with the wriſt, the elbow, and one another, the inſide of the hands being turned downwards.

The third kind of geſture relates to the paſſions. This matter is too large poſſibly to enter into an account ſo ſhort as this, in which my deſign is only to lay down the moſt general and neceſſary rules. The maſters will eaſily ſupply the reſt.

Th

The masters of the art take notice, that the motion of the hand must begin and end with the sense, because otherwise it must either precede the discourse, or last longer than it. Now both these would be faulty.

We must not pretend to lay down fixed and certain rules upon the subject I am here treating of. One thing, as Quintilian observes, suiting well with one, which would sit ill upon another, without our sometimes being able to give a reason for it; so far, that in some the [n] refinements of pronunciation shall not be graceful, and in others the very faults not displease. [o] Thus every one, in forming his action, must not only consult the general rules, but carefully study his own actual disposition and personal qualifications.

But the most important precept of all, both as to the voice or gesture, is to study nature, to look upon it here as in every thing else, as the best master and surest guide that can be followed, to place the perfection of the art in a perfect imitation of it, endeavouring only, after the example of painters, to embellish and set it off a little, but without ever swerving from a just likeness. When children are at liberty amongst themselves, and when in discoursing together they break out into some heat, they are under no difficulty in seeking either for tone or gesture. All comes to them as it were mechanically, because they only follow the impulse of nature. Why, when they are put upon declamation, do we find them for the most part almost dumb, motionless, confused and perplexed? It is, because they think that then they must speak and act in a very different manner, in which they are much mistaken. For which reason, we cannot too early, when children are put upon speaking in the classes, or made to repeat their lessons, accustom them to

[n] In quibusdam virtutes non habent gratiam, in quibusdam vitia ipsa delectant.

[o] Quare norit se quisque, nec tantum ex communibus praeceptis, sed etiam ex natura sua capiat consilium formandae actionis.

to assume a natural tone, that is, such as they use in their familiar discourse; and the same may be said of any one, that is to speak in public. Nor is this observation contrary to the study of the voice and gesture, which I have so earnestly recommended. This study should be applied to in the closet; but when he comes to speak, the orator must not seem to have studied it at all. All must flow easily from him. Art must look like nature, his voice and gesture must shew nothing studied, and he must call to mind this great principle, which in general relates to all the parts of eloquence. q *Nothing is beautiful but what is true. Only truth is amiable.*

ARTICLE THE THIRD.

Of Compositions and public Actions.

IT is by compositions, either in verse or prose, that the regents do most honour to their colleges, and establish their own reputation in a more eminent manner. The university has at all times abounded in famous poets and orators, who have strove to keep up the glory it has so long acquired of shining and excelling in all kinds of literature; and every professor must look upon this glory of the university as a precious inheritance, which he is obliged to preserve, and if possible, to augment by his labour and application.

The compositions I am here speaking of are commonly such as celebrate the name and actions of princes, generals, ministers and magistrates, in a word, all the great men who distinguish themselves in any respect whatsoever; and it is a kind of public homage, which the university pays to virtue and merit.

But

q Despreaux Ep. 9.

But it must be remembered, that this homage
in reality due only to virtue and merit; and tha
when it is not founded upon truth, it degenerates in
to a a shameful adulation, equally dishonourable t
the person who commends, and the person commen
ded. We must therefore never praise what is not tru
ly laudable; and that usually with modesty and cau
tion, by avoiding all extravagant exaggerations
which serve only to render what we say suspected.

There is a manner of commending so evidentl
false, and so directly opposite to the taste and judg
ment of the public, that a person of common sens
in my opinion cannot help avoiding it. Thus whe
Nero made the funeral oration of the Emperor Clau
dius his predecessor, he was [q] attentively heard in a
the rest; but when he came to speak of his prudenc
and wisdom, the audience could not help laughing
though the oration was very eloquent, and draw
up by Seneca, who had a very fruitful genius an
a very florid stile, according to the taste of that age
though he sometimes wanted judgment.

There is another fault less shocking in appearance
but not less blameable, because it is contrary to rel
gion; and that is to give Princes the attributes whic
belong only to God, by considering them as the ma
sters of nature; as disposing of it as their pleasure
as changing the order of the seasons, as they thin
fit, and making them believe that by conferring th
title of minister they likewise confer merit; an imp
ous flattery, not to be pardoned even in a Pagan
who applying to an Emperor, that had assumed th
character of a god, and had committed to his car
the education of the young Princes his nephews, [r] it
trea

[q] Cætera pronis animis audita. Postquam ad providentiam sapie
tiamque flexit, nemo risui temperaret, quanquam oratio a Sene
composita, multum cultus præferret, ut fuit illi viro ingenium amœ
num, et temporis illius auribus accommodatum. Tacit. Annal. li
xiii. cap. 3.

[r] Ut quantum nobis expectationis adjecit tantum ingenii aspira
dexterque ac volens adsit, et me, qualem esse credidit, faciat. Qui
til. lib. iv. in Præf.

treats him to inspire him with all the understanding, that was necessary in the discharge of so noble an employment, and make him such as he judged him to be. There is a jealous ear, that I may use the scripture expression, which hears such discourse with indignation, [s] *Auris zeli audit omnia;* and we cannot say how far such blasphemies, for I do not scruple to call them so, are capable of drawing down misfortunes and curses on a Christian kingdom.

The taste of sound eloquence inspires a very different manner, and infuses, especially in point of praise, a prudent discretion and a wise sobriety. We must herein imitate, as much as is possible, the ingenious and artful address of the ancients, who knew how to praise in a curious and delicate manner, and sometimes even whilst they seemed to be employed upon somewhat else. [t] Tully in his beautiful oration for Ligarius says, he hopes that Cæsar, *who never forgets any thing but the injuries that have been offered him*, will call to mind the inviolable attachment which the brother of Ligarius had to him; *Qui obliviſci nihil ſolet præter injurias.* One word thrown into a discourse in this manner, is worth a whole panegyric.

[u] Horace declaring, that he has not capacity sufficient to describe the glorious victories of Augustus, seems to have nothing in view but to answer those, who had advised him to leave off writing satyr; but his real design was to commend that Prince in such a manner, as might not offend his extreme delicacy in point of commendation; *Cui male ſi palpêre, recalcitrat undique tutus.* The reply he makes by Trebatius, that at least he might celebrate the private and pacific virtues of Augustus, his justice, his constancy and magnanimity, as Lucilius had done Scipio's; this turn, I say, is in the same taste, and still more pleasing, by the indirect comparison of this Prince with so great a man as Scipio was.

[s] Wiſd. i. 10. [t] Cic. pro Ligar. n. 35. [u] Lib. 1. Satyr. i.

M. Despreaux, the worthy disciple of Horace, has in several passages imitated his master's skill in commending; but I question whether any where in a more beautiful and ingenious manner, than where he puts the panegyric of Lewis the fourteenth into the mouth of Sloth.

Ah! where are fled those happy times of peace,
When idle Kings, dissolv'd in thoughtless ease,
Resign'd their sceptres, and the toils of state
To counts, or some inferior magistrate:
Loll'd on their thrones, devoid of thought or pain;
And nodding, slumber'd out a lazy reign?——
But 'tis no more: That golden age is gone,
And an unwearied Prince fills Gallia's throne.
Each day he frights me with the noise of arms,
Slights my embraces, and defies my charms.
In vain does nature, seas and rocks oppose
To bar his virtue, which undaunted goes
Thro' Lybia's burning sands, and Scythia's snows.
His name alone my trembling subjects dread;
Not his own cannon does more terror spread.

This is a master piece in its kind, and whoever can introduce any thing like it into a copy of verses, may safely rely upon the approbation of the public.

Praises and panegyrics are not the only subjects of poems and public acts. Others may be chosen, which are no less fruitful to the orator, and may equally please persons of a good taste; such as dissertations upon eloquence, poetry, history, or some point of literature. Examples may be found in the collection, which has lately been published of several pieces in verse or prose by the professors of the university.

As the discourses I am now speaking of, whether panegyrics or dissertations, are principally made for shew, I know that according to the rules of sound rhetoric, one may pompously display in them the riches of eloquence, and the art which elsewhere should be concealed, may here shew itself with more liberty

liberty. But yet this must be done with caution; and we must remember that a solid and judicious discourse will always meet with applause, and that we must not strive to be distinguished by witticism and gingling, and especially must take care to avoid such affected turns, and that kind of points which may please an ignorant multitude, but disgust every sensible and judicious hearer.

The panegyric of Trajan by Pliny the younger, the collection of such discourses entitled *Panegyrici veteres*, and still more the works of Seneca, may supply an orator with abundance of thoughts, but he must correct them by the stile of Cicero. We have likewise excellent models of this kind in the funeral orations and academical discourses of the moderns.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH.

Of the Studies of the MASTERS.

WHAT I have said of compositions and public acts makes a great outward shew, but does not comprehend the essential duty of a regent, which consists in the solid instruction he owes to his scholars. To succeed in this, he stands in need of labour and study. Even the lowest classes require a certain degree of learning, which is not to be acquired but by reading. Besides, a professor ordinarily does not stop there, and must qualify himself for passing into the superior classes.

A regent's first study must relate to the points he teaches, and the authors he explains. Thus, for instance, a grammarian is not allowed to be ignorant of what the ancients have written upon grammar, and still less of what the Mess. de Port Royal have left us upon that head. A professor of rhetoric must have

imbibed his art from the ſame ſources, and have thoroughly ſtudied the old Greek and Latin rhetoricians. Not that either of them ſhould load their ſcholars with a great number of precepts, but in order to make a choice they muſt all be known; and an able maſter, that hath both judgment and capacity, will find a great aſſiſtance from what he reads towards inſtructing youth.

I am of the ſame opinion with reſpect to authors. The moſt eaſy have their obſcurities; and a regent muſt have all the interpreters, or at leaſt the moſt eſteemed upon thoſe he explains. There are indeed abundance of trifles amongſt a great many ſolid remarks; but he muſt make choice, and diſtribute ſuch only amongſt his ſcholars, as are ſuitable to their age and capacity.

Beſides the ſtudy of the claſs, a regent muſt acquire ſuch a fund of erudition, as is eſſential to a man of letters. He ſhould be well acquainted with the Greek, and no ſtranger to hiſtory; nor muſt the extent of theſe branches of knowledge frighten him from purſuing them. It is incredible how far an hour or two, ſpent regularly every day in ſtudy, will carry him by the end of the year; let him but have courage only to begin, and if poſſible to join himſelf to ſome diligent and well diſpoſed perſon of the fraternity, and let them confer together upon the authors they have ſeparately read, and read nothing without making extracts, noting what relates to different ſubjects, as eloquence, poetry, hiſtory and antiquity. I remember to have read over in this manner, a great while ago, almoſt all the lives of Plutarch with a ſkilful friend, who had an excellent taſte. We ſet apart an afternoon in every week for this ſmall conference, which was made as we walked abroad, when the weather permitted. We mutually communicated what we had found moſt beautiful and remarkable, each propoſed his difficulties and we were often ſurprized that we had paſſed over paſſages too lightly, in the notion that we had underſtood

underſtood them, when in reality we did not. I know no exerciſe more agreeable to perſons of learning and underſtanding, than ſuch walks and converſations.

Livy had been read over entirely ſome time before in ſuch conferences held once a week in the college de Beauvais, where ſome profeſſors of other colleges were ſometimes pleaſed to be preſent; and though the converſation was not long, for it began after ſchool time in the evening, yet at the end of a certain number of years the author was read through, and the work finiſhed. M. Crevier, now regent of the ſecond claſs in the college de Beauvais, held the pen, and took down all the remarks which he one day deſigns to give the public, with a new edition of that author, which I hope will be to general ſatisfaction.

It is plain, that a certain number of books are requiſite for this ſort of ſtudy, and I cannot too earneſtly adviſe the profeſſors, to collect each of them a ſmall library, greater or leſs, according to their wants and income. The King's liberality in eſtabliſhing a gratuitous inſtruction in all our colleges, has enabled us, and I may add, laid us under an obligation of putting ourſelves to this expence, which is as abſolutely neceſſary to our profeſſion, as the inſtruments in any trade are to the workmen. [x] Alcibiades meeting with a ſchool-maſter who had none of Homer's works, could not forbear giving him a box on the ear, and treating him as an ignorant fellow, and one who could not make any other than ignorant ſcholars; and might not we ſay the ſame thing of a profeſſor, who has no books?

It is difficult to have a taſte for letters, without having a taſte for books, which are the enjoyment of a man of ſenſe, eſpecially in his old age, as Tully elegantly obſerves in a letter to his friend Atticus,

[x] Ælian. lib. iii. cap. 38.

where he intreats him to reserve his library for him, which he designed to purchase with part of his revenue. [y] *Bibliothecam tuam cave cuiquam despondeas, quamvis acrem amatorem inveneris: nam ego omnes meas vindemiolas eò reservo, ut illud subsidium senectuti parem.* In another letter he tells him, that this acquisition will complete his wishes, and make him the happiest man in the world. *Noli desperare fore ut libros tuos facere possim meos. Quod si assequor, supero Crassum divitiis; atque omnium agros, lucos, prata contemno.*

Whilst I am writing this, I am informed that a professor, affected with the same desires as Tully, and with the same taste, has not scrupled to charge himself with an annuity of four hundred livres a year, in order to purchase the library of one of his brethren [z] lately deceased in the university, who had made a good use of his books. I wish the example of both may meet with followers.

We are nearly concerned to excite amongst us, or rather to preserve that taste of knowledge and learning which has always reigned in the university, and to excite in ourselves a noble emulation, by the remembrance of the great men who have done it so much honour, and whose names are so well known, and so much respected throughout the christian world, Budæus, Turnebus, Ramus, Lambinus, Muretus, Buchanan, Passeratius, Casaubon, all professors in the university, or the college royal.

It is this taste of learning and books, which has acquired France so many famous printers, that have carried the art of printing to the highest degree of perfection. I cannot help inserting here what we read in M. Baillet concerning the famous Stephens's, who have rendered their name immortal, not only by

[y] Lib. i. Ep. 9.

[z] M. Heuzet, author of the two Latin books for the use of young beginners, which I have mentioned above, and who was farther preparing to publish some other pieces, that might be very useful to youth.

by the neatneſs and beauty of their Hebrew, Greek, and Roman characters, but their ſingular exactneſs, and their ability and great diſintereſtedneſs, which made them prefer the public intereſt to their own.

The œconomy of Robert Stephens's houſe, [a] ſays this author, was excellent. He received no workmen into his printing-houſe, but ſuch as were ſkilled in Greek and Latin, and capable of being maſters elſewhere. He had beſides this men and maids, who were not allowed to talk any thing but Latin, as well as all the workmen in the printing-houſe. His wife and daughter underſtood it perfectly, and were obliged, with all the domeſtics, to talk nothing elſe. So that the ſtore-houſes, the chambers, the ſhop, the kitchen; in a word, from the top of the houſe to the bottom, all ſpoke Latin at Robert Stephens's. This generous printer had uſually ten men of learning in his houſe, all of them foreigners, who corrected his impreſſions under him; and not ſatisfied with the application he gave to the correction of the ſeveral proofs which came from his preſſes, he publickly expoſed the printed ſheets before they were taken off, and promiſed a reward to ſuch as ſhould find out any faults in them.

The ſhop of that famous printer was almoſt admirable, for the zeal, taſte, and eager purſuit after books and ſciences; for application and exactneſs in the diſcharge of his duty; for diſintereſtedneſs, nobleneſs of ſoul and ſentiments, and the love of the public. It certainly would not be wrong or diſhonourable in us, to copy after ſo excellent a pattern; and this has been my view in this ſmall digreſſion, which I hope the reader will excuſe.

[a] Jugem. des Sav. tom. 1.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE THE FIFTH.

The Application of ſome particular Rules to the Government of the Claſſes.

THERE is nothing mentioned in this work, but what is commonly practiſed in the claſſes, excepting two articles, the one relating to the ſtudy of the French tongue, and the other to hiſtory, upon which I could wiſh that more time and care were ſpent than is uſual. Under the ſtudy of hiſtory I comprehend geography, chronology, fable and antiquities. There is often occaſion to ſpeak of them in the claſſes, but they are not uſually taught them in a conſtant and regular manner by principles and method.

Theſe ſtudies are allowed to be an important part of the education of youth, and to be either abſolutely neceſſary to them, or at leaſt extremely uſeful. But it is queſtioned, whether they can enter into the ſcheme of the claſſes, where the whole time ſeems taken up with the multiplicity of the other matters taught in them; and certainly the caſe is not without difficulty, though I do not think it abſolutely impracticable.

Firſt, as to the French tongue, half an hour twice or thrice a week ſpent upon this ſtudy might ſuffice becauſe continued through the whole courſe of all the claſſes. Till ſuch time as a book is drawn up for the uſe of the boys, containing the moſt neceſſary rules of grammar, and the principal obſervations of M. de Vaugelas, F. Bouhours, &c. upon the French tongue, the maſters may content themſelves with explaining one or other of them to their ſcholars by word of mouth, and making the application of them to ſome beautiful paſſage in a French book. Fifteen or twenty rules and obſervations would ſuffice for one year.

Hiſtory

Hiſtory might be diſtributed in the following manner. That of the Old and New Teſtament ſhould be for the three loweſt claſſes, the ſixth, fifth, and fourth; fable and antiquities for the third; the Greek hiſtory for the ſecond; the Roman down to the emperors for rhetoric; and laſtly, the hiſtory of the emperors, for philoſophy.

I do not mean, that all theſe portions of hiſtory ſhould be explained to the boys in their claſs, for that would take up too much time, and be abſolutely impoſſible; but I would have a certain taſk given them to be read by themſelves in private every day, which they ſhould be obliged to give an account of from time to time in their claſs. To this end it would be requiſite to have books drawn up expreſly for the uſe of the boys.

We have two excellent ones for ſacred hiſtory, to wit, the hiſtorical catechiſm of M. l'Abbé Fleury, which may ſerve in the ſixth; and the abridgment of the Old Teſtament, lately printed for John Deſaint, which the journals of Paris and Trevoux have very much recommended, may ſerve for the fifth and fourth. The firſt is a ſhort abridgment made expreſly for children, and adapted to the meaneſt capacity; the other is much larger, and includes the moſt beautiful and remarkable parts of the Old Teſtament, either in point of facts, ſentiments, or maxims.

I hope we ſhall ſoon have a ſmall treatiſe upon the fabulous hiſtory proper to be put into the hands of the boys. In the mean time, they may make uſe of that of Galtrucius or F. Jouvenci. I have already mentioned a ſmall abridgment of the Roman antiquities printed in 1706, which may ſerve till a larger is compoſed.

What we moſt want, are hiſtories of the Greeks and Romans expreſly written for the uſe of youth. I have engaged to write the former, and ſhall diligently employ myſelf about it. Others may turn their views and pains upon the Roman hiſtory; in the mean while we may make uſe of the univerſal

hiſtory

hiſtory of M. de Meaux; which indeed is a ve
ſhort abridgment as to facts, but makes a conſider
ble amends by the excellent reflections it contain
We have another abridgment of the Roman hiſt
ry tranſlated from the Engliſh of Lawrence Echar
which is a very good one and long enough. T
hiſtory of the revolutions of the Roman republi
by M. l'Abbé de Vertot, and that of the Triumv
rate, may ſuffice to give the boys a juſt idea of t
latter times of the republic.

It would be a very uſeful work, and, in my o
nion, a very eaſy one, to abridge what M. de Till
mont has left us upon the hiſtory of the Roma
emperors. We find in this hiſtory illuſtrious exar
ples of the greateſt virtues, and perfect models
the art of government. The reading of this wo
would ſuit mighty well with the ſtudents in philoſ
phy, and equally prepare them for the ſtudy
theology and the law. By this means the bo
would have a tolerable knowledge of ancient hiſt
ry, and be much better qualified to enter afterwar
upon the ſtudy of the modern.

Upon the bare expoſition which I have made, a
the world will doubtleſs agree, that it were to
wiſhed ſuch a plan could be executed; as it is ev
dent, that the boys, inſtructed in this manne
would carry away from college abundance of uſef
and agreeable knowledge, which might be of gre
ſervice to them all the reſt of their lives. Let
examine therefore, whether this plan is practicab
or not. Now, in the manner I propoſe it, it is,
my opinion, very eaſily reduced to practice. For
require only of the profeſſors to ſet their ſchola
every day a certain taſk, and appoint them a ce
tain number of pages to read in the books of hiſt
ry, which I ſuppoſe they have in their hands, ar
to make them give an account from time to time
what they read, which may amount to about half a
hour every day. I know well that ſeveral of the
may happen to miſapply this time, and the ſame w
fall out in all their other ſtudies. But as this is

far the moſt agreeable, there is cauſe to hope, that the greateſt number will apply to it with pleaſure, eſpecially if care be taken to ſet a mark of honour upon it, to give it admiſſion into the public exerciſes, to propoſe prizes and rewards for ſuch as ſhall diſtinguiſh themſelves in it, and to employ all the means which the induſtry of an able and diligent maſter will not fail to ſuggeſt to him.

Chronology is naturally joined to hiſtory, and nothing is more eaſy, or takes up leſs time, than to give the boys a general idea of it, ſufficient to let them know very nearly at what time the events paſſed, which they read of; and that is all that can be expected from them. We muſt likewiſe never fail to make them acquainted in ſome meaſure with the author explained to them, the principal circumſtances of his life, and the time when he lived. One day as I was explaining the paſſage where Quintilian mentions the Greek hiſtorians, a young man aſked me, why he made no mention of Plutarch. He had read ſeveral of his lives, but had not been taught at what time, and under what emperors he lived.

As to geography, it may be taught the boys without taking up much time or trouble. The plaineſt and eaſieſt way of fixing it in the memory, and at the ſame time hiſtorical events, is whenever a city, river, or iſland is mentioned in an author, to be exact in pointing them out upon a map. By following a general through all his expeditions, ſuch as an Hannibal, a Scipio, a Pompey, a Cæſar, or an Alexander, the boys will have occaſion to paſs over all the memorable places of the world, and by that means imprint for ever in their minds the ſeries of facts and ſituation of towns. When they are a little accuſtomed to this method, it will be very eaſy to teach them the degrees of longitude and latitude, and the whole doctrine of the ſphere. Thus, it may be very proper, in order to teach them modern geography, to engage them ſometimes at home to read certain pages of the Gazette, and oblige them to trace

out

out upon the map the different places mentioned i
it. All this is but a kind of diverſion, and yet wi
teach them geography in a more laſting manner tha
all the regular leſſons that are given them in form.

What I am here ſaying ſuppoſes, that the childre
have maps in their chambers; and indeed they ſhoul
never be without them; and I queſtion whether
would not be profitable to have them likewiſe in ev
ry claſs. It would be ſufficient to have a large map
the world, with maps of the Roman empire, Greec
and Aſia Minor, and ſome few others of the like ſor
The expence would not be very great, and might fa
upon the ſcholars, as theſe maps muſt be renewe
from time to time. I know that this cuſtom h
been put in practice in ſome colleges with ſucceſ
Perhaps alſo one might add to them two tables
chronology, one of which ſhould come down to th
birth of Chriſt, and the other to our own times.

In propoſing theſe different ſtudies, I do not mea
that the Latin or Greek tongues ſhould either of the
be neglected. We may eaſily, if I am not miſtake
reconcile them together. What ſhould principall
prevail in the claſſes, is the buſineſs of explication
that of a Greek author eſpecially I would never hav
omitted, but that half an hour ſhould be ſpent upo
it every day. This is a ſmall matter, and yet whe
that time is regularly employed, it goes a great wa
by the end of the year. The repetition of leſſons r
quires the leaſt time, as it is the leaſt ſerviceable to th
ſcholars; a quarter of an hour, in my opinion, is
nough for it, eſpecially in ſuch claſſes as are not ver
numerous, and the rather as it returns twice a da
and on Saturdays, when the leſſons of the whol
week are repeated, a longer time is ſpent upon it.

The care of a maſter, who is concerned for th
welfare of his ſcholars, and wiſely frugal of tim
will induce him to manage every moment with
much œconomy, that he will find enough for all th
ſtudies I have mentioned. . . . . .

CHA

CHAP. III.

Of the Duty of PARENTS.

QUINTILIAN will have the parents duty commence from the very moment their children are born, by the care he requires them to take of procuring them nurſes, and having ſervants about them of known wiſdom and probity; and he afterwards inſiſts upon a continual diligence in removing from them whatever may be capable of affecting their innocence the leaſt in the world, and will allow nothing to be ſaid or done in their preſence, which may inſpire them with dangerous principles, or ſet them a bad example.

What concerns parents in the caſe I am here treating of, is firſt the choice of a maſter and a college, ſuppoſing that they reſolve to ſend their children thither. [a] Quintilian fully points out to us this double obligation in a few words. He requires, that the maſter ſhould be a man of conſummate virtue. *Præceptorem eligere ſanctiſſimum quemque, cujus rei præcipua prudentibus cura eſt;* and that an exact and regular diſcipline ſhould be kept up in the college; *et diſciplinam, quæ maxime ſevera fuerit.*

The younger Pliny, in one of his letters, wherein he recommends to a lady of his acquaintance a profeſſor of rhetoric for her ſon, lays down admirable inſtructions upon this ſubject, which properly concern the choice of a college and a regent, as the paſſage of Quintilian which I have quoted above, but may likewiſe relate to that of a preceptor. The paſſage is too beautiful not to be repeated here at its full length.

[b] "The only means to enable your ſon to tread "worthily in the footſteps of his anceſtors, is to ſet

[a] Lib. i. cap. 2.

[b] Lib. iii ep. 3. Quibus omnibus (avis et majoribus) ita demum ſimilis adoleſcit, ſi imbutus honeſtis artibus fuerit: quas plurimum refert

" over him a good guide, who knows how to point " out to him the paths of knowledge and honour; " but the choice of this guide is a matter of great " importance. Hitherto he has been brought up " by his preceptors under your inspection and in a " private house, where the dangers, if any, are ve- " ry small; but now he is to be sent abroad to at- " tend upon public lectures, you must make choice " of a professor of eloquence, in whose school you " are assured there is observed an exact discipline, " and above all a great modesty and purity of man- " ners; for amongst the other advantages this youth " has received from nature and fortune, he is ex- " tremely beautiful, and this lays you under farther " obligations, in so weak and dangerous an age, to " set over him a master, who may serve not only " as a preceptor to him, but likewise as a guide and " a guardian.

c " I know no body more proper to discharge " this office than Julius Genitor. I love him, and " the friendship I have for him does not influence " my judgment, to which it owes its existence. He " is grave and unblameable, perhaps somewhat too " austere and rough in his behaviour, according to " the

refert à quo potissimum accipiat. Adhuc illum puritiae ratio intra contubernium tuum tenuit: praeceptores domi habuit, ubi est vel erroribus modica, vel etiam nulla materia. Jam studia ejus extra limen proferenda sunt: jam circumspiciendus Rhetor latinus, cujus scholae severitas, pudor in primis, castitas constet. Adest enim adolescenti nostro, cum caeteris naturae fortunaeque dotibus, eximia corporis pulchritudo; cui in hoc lubrico aetatis non praeceptor modo, sed custos etiam rectorque quaerendus est.

c Videor ego demonstrare tibi posse Julium Genitorem. Amatur à me: judicio tamen meo non obstat caritas, quae ex judicio nata est. Vir est emendatus et gravis: paulo etiam horridior et durior, ut in hac licentia temporum. Quantum eloquentia valeat, pluribus credere putes: nam dicendi facultas aperta et expositа statim cernitur. Vita hominum altos recessus magnasque latebras habet: cujus pro Genitore me sponsorem accipe. Nihil ex hoc viro filius tuus audiet, nisi profuturum: nihil discet, quod nescisse rectius fuerit Nec minus saepe ab illo quam à te meque admonebitur quibus imaginibus oneretur, quae nomina et quanta sustineat. Proinde, faventibus diis, trade eum praeceptori, à quo mores primum, mox eloquentiam discat, quae male sine moribus discitur. Vale.

" the licentiouſneſs of theſe latter times. As the " talent of ſpeaking is an external advantage, which " lies open and obvious to all the world, you may " in point of eloquence rely upon the teſtimony of " the public in his favour. It is not ſo with the " life and manners of a man, they have their ſe- " cret places, into which it is ſcarce poſſible to pe- " netrate; and in this point I will be bound for " Genitor. Your ſon will hear nothing from him, " but what may be to his advantage; nor learn a- " ny thing of him, which it might be better for " him not to know. He will be no leſs careful " than you or me to ſet continually before his eyes " the examples and virtues of his anceſtors, and " make him fully ſenſible how heavy a burden their " great names lay upon him. Make no ſcruple, " therefore, to put him into the hands of a maſter, " who will firſt train him up to good morals, and " then to eloquence, which is never well taught " without morality. Farewel."

It is not enough to make choice of a good college. To reap all the benefit from it that may be expected, the parents muſt often viſit the principal, the regents and preceptors, to inform themſelves of the behaviour of their children, and the progreſs they make in their ſtudies. They muſt acquaint them with their diſpoſitions and inclinations, which they cannot but know better than any other. They muſt conſult with them upon proper meaſures for correcting their faults, ſupport them with their whole authority, and join with them altogether in caſe of reward, commendation, reprimand or puniſhment. It is not to be expreſſed, how uſeful this good underſtanding of parents with the maſters may be to the children.

[d] Horace, in the beautiful ſatyr, wherein he expreſſes his grateful acknowledgments for the extraordinary pains his father took in his education, does not fail to obſerve, that he was careful to viſit his maſters often; and he attributes to this in a great

[d] Lib. i. Sat. 6.

measure the happiness he had of having been not only exempt from the irregularities common to youth, but of having escaped even the slightest suspicion of them.

Atqui si vitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis
Mendosa est natura, alioqui recta. . . .
Causa fuit pater his. . . .
Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes
Circum doctores aderat. Quid multa? pudicum
Qui primus virtutis honos, servavit ab omni
Non solum facto, verum opprobrio quoque turpi.

It is a fault, [e] says Plutarch, which very much deserves to be condemned in parents, to think themselves entirely discharged from the care of watching over their children, as soon as they are put into the hands of masters, and not to think any longer of being certified with their own eyes and ears, in regard to the progress they make in study and virtue. Besides that, it ill becomes a father, in a matter of this importance, and wherein he is so nearly concerned, blindly to rely upon the integrity of strangers, who amongst the ancients were generally slaves or freedmen; it is certain, adds the same author, that a father's care to inform himself from time to time, and take an account of his son's application and behaviour, may serve at the same time to make both the scholars and the masters more exact and diligent in the discharge of their several duties. He applies to this subject the proverb which says, [f] The master's eye makes the horse fat.

How just soever this duty is, and easy to be discharged, it is seldom that parents discharge it. They scarce ever concern themselves about the behaviour of their children, when they are grown up and have left the college; and the most of them shew such an indifference and negligence in this point, as is scarce to be imagined. A great many excuse it with

[e] De educ. liberis.
[f] Οὐδὲν οὕτω παιδεύει τὸν ἵππον, ὡς βασιλέως ὀφθαλμός.

with a pretence of their buſineſs and employment, as if the education of their children was not the moſt important of all, or the character of father was ever to be effaced by that of magiſtrate or miniſter.

Plato obſerves, that it is a very uſual fault with perſons concerned in the government of a ſtate, to neglect the care of their own family; and in a dialogue, intitled *Laches*, he introduces two of the moſt conſiderable men in Athens, complaining, that if they had acquired little merit and glory, it was their father's fault, who, however diſtinguiſhed by great actions both in peace and war, and entirely devoted to the affairs of others, had taken no care of their education, but had left them to themſelves and their own management, at an age when they had moſt occaſion to be looked over and reſtrained. Would to God that many children had not ſtill cauſe to utter the like complaints.

Cato the cenſor, though taken up with the greateſt affairs of ſtate, engaged in the moſt important employments, and the life of the debates in the ſenate, did not fall into this miſtake, but became himſelf a preceptor to his ſon. Paulus Æmilius, amidſt his great occupations, found time to aſſiſt at the conferences made by his children, and to encourage their ſtudies by his preſence. He was well paid for his pains, and the reputation g they acquired, was a juſt and grateful reward.

Theſe great men were very far from a fault which is now too common, eſpecially among great men and ſoldiers, who take pains to repeat to their children, that they don't deſign to make doctors of them, and have ſent them only to college to paſs away a few years, till they are old enough to be ſent to the academy, or enter into the ſervice. Such a diſcourſe is capable of rendering the whole fruit of their ſtudies abortive, as it directly tends to ſtifle and extinguiſh all emulation in the mind of the boys; whereas parents ſhould employ all their care in exciting, ſupporting and augmenting it; becauſe,

g The younger Scipio Africanus was one of his children.

if their children have a sense of it in their classes they will afterwards carry it into the employments confided to them, and take the like pains to succeed and distinguish themselves in them.

But to return to the choice of a preceptor. Plutarch, in a treatise we have of his concerning the manner of educating children, requires in the masters an unblameable life, a good understanding, great learning, and a capacity for governing, acquired by long experience. But he sadly complains of the negligence, or rather the stupidity of parents, who, in a choice which generally determines the fate and merit of their children for their whole life, take up with the first comer, have regard only to the recommendation of persons little to be relied upon, and guided by a sordid avarice, regard only the expence in the choice of a preceptor, and think him the best that costs them least. He tells us a very notable saying of Aristippus upon this occasion. A father, surprised that he should ask a thousand drachmas of him for the instruction of his son, cried out, Why, I could buy a slave for that price. You will have two instead of one, replied the philosopher, thereby insinuating to this covetous father, that he would make no more than a slave of his son.

[h] The satyrical poet makes the same complaints, and cannot bear, that fathers and mothers, whilst they are at a thousand foolish expences upon their buildings, furniture, equipage, and table, should be so very sparing in the education of their children.

Hos inter sumptus sestertia Quintiliano,
Ut multum, duo, sufficient. Res nulla minoris
Constabit patri quam filius.

[i] Crates the philosopher said, that he could wish he was upon the top of the most eminent place in the city, that he might cry aloud to the citizens: "O senseless generation! how foolish are ye to "think only of heaping up riches, and absolutely "to

[h] Juv. lib. iii. Sat. 7.

[i] Plut. de liber. educ. l. xiv. c. 55.

" to neglect the education of your children, for " whom you pretend to amass it."

[k] Parents pay sometimes very dear for their negligence and avarice, when afterwards they have the grief to see their children abandoned to every kind of vice and disorder, dishonour them a thousand ways, and frequently squander away more money in one year, in gratifying their passions, than parents would have spent in ten, in giving them a virtuous and solid education.

No expence therefore must be spared to have a good preceptor; and they must remember, that the noblest and most serviceable use they can make of their money, is to purchase with it men of merit in any kind, and especially in what relates to the instruction of their children. [l] When Seneca would have given back into the hands of Nero the great wealth which made him envied, the emperor answered him, that, as great as his wealth might seem, there were persons far below Seneca in merit, who possessed a great deal more. I am ashamed, said he to him, to see freedmen richer than you are, and that, as you have the highest place in my esteem, you should not be the greatest in my empire. *Pudet referre libertinos, qui ditiores spectantur. Unde etiam rubori mihi est, quod præcipuus caritate nondum omnes fortuna antecellis.* I do not examine whether Nero thought as he spoke; but this is certain, that understanding and reasonable parents should think thus, and be concerned to see a steward, a secretary, and sometimes a porter, get a greater fortune in their service, than the preceptor to the son of the family.

It must be owned, there are parents, though the number of them is very small, who do not want generosity in this point, and, not content with paying very good salaries to their childrens tutors, think themselves farther obliged to settle upon them a reasonable revenue for life, sufficient to enable

[k] Plut. ibid. [l] Tacit. annal.

enable them to enjoy the fruit of their labours
eaſe and liberty. How ſmall a diminution indee
would an annuity of thirty, fifty, or a hundred p
ſtoles, more or leſs, according to their different ci
cumſtances, make in the eſtates, which ſo man
wealthy perſons enjoy? Does it come up to the ſe
vices whereof it is the reward? I always read wit
ſingular pleaſure the admirable diſcourſe of th
young Tobias to his father, concerning the guid
who had conducted him in his journey, and th
particular account he gives of the ſervices he rece
ved from him, the greatneſs and number of whic
he lays down with the ſame exactneſs, as if he ha
been to receive the reward, and not to give it.
father, [m] ſaid he to him, *what wages ſhall we giv
him, that bears any proportion to the benefits he ha
done unto us? He has brought me again unto thee
perfect ſafety; he went himſelf to receive the money
Gabael; he has made whole my wife, has driven awa
the devil from her which tormented her; he has fille
her father and mother with joy; he has delivered m
from the fiſh that was ready to devour me, he has lik
wiſe healed thee, and by his means it is that we enje
all kinds of bleſſings. What then may we give un
him for all he hath done unto us? I beg of you, O fa
ther, to intreat him that he will be pleaſed to accept
half of all that we have brought.*

What noble ſentiments are here? The young To
bias does not think he does any great matter for h
guide by ſo advantageous an offer, but judges tha
he ſhall receive himſelf a favour wherewith h
ſhould be very much honoured, if the guide woul
think fit to accept of his propoſal. *If he will b
pleaſed to accept of half of all thoſe things that w
have brought.* Here we have a juſt model for pa
rents; as the deſcription he gives of the ſervice
which his guide had done for him is likewiſe a pa
tern for tutors, who ſhould ſerve as guardian an
gels to their pupils.

A

[m] Tob. xii. 2, 4.

All parents are not in a condition to make the fortune of their childrens tutors; but they are all able, and obliged to honour them, to expreſs conſtantly a great value for them, and to procure them, by their conduct, the eſteem and reſpect of the children and the whole family. He ſhould be looked upon and reſpected as the father himſelf; for this is the idea which the ancients required ſhould be had of a preceptor.

[n] *Dii majorum umbris tenuem et ſine pondere terram. . . .*
Qui præceptorem ſancti voluere parentis
Eſſe loco.

Though all parents, even ſuch as can make but ſmall allowances, ſhould be very careful in the choice of a preceptor, they muſt not however be too ſcrupulous upon this point, nor expect to find all the qualifications that can be deſired in a good maſter. There is nothing more extraordinary, than a man who has all theſe virtues united in him. The greateſt lords and princes find a great difficulty in meeting with perſons ſo qualified. People are often obliged to truſt the education of their children with young preceptors, who are without experience, and have not had time to acquire a great deal of learning. But provided they bring with them good diſpoſitions, and do not want underſtanding and judgment, are fond of taking pains, and above all are moral and religious men, the parents ought to be ſatisfied. They muſt only endeavour to make them apply to ſome wiſe and experienced perſon in this way to conſult upon occaſions, and govern themſelves by his advice. But what, in my opinion, ſeems abſolutely neceſſary, and parents ſhould never omit, is to begin with putting ſome proper books into the hands of the maſter they ſet over their children, to inſtruct them in a right method of educating them, ſuch as thoſe of M. de Fenelon, Mr. Locke, and ſome others of a like nature. I could wiſh

[n] Juven. lib. iii. Sat. 7.

wiſh that mine might be uſeful to them. I comp
ſed them at leaſt with that view.

Parents ſhould never omit a powerful means th
have in their hands, of drawing down the bleſſi
of God upon their children, and that is by contr
buting more or leſs, in proportion to their circu
ſtances, to the ſubſiſtence of ſome poor ſcholar, a
to help him forward in his learning. I former
received a like aſſiſtance from the liberality of t
late miniſter M. le Peletier. I had the happineſs
being in the ſame claſſes with his [o] children in t
college du Pleſſis, and to reap the advantage of t
excellent education he gave them. I often diſput
with them for the firſt places and prizes. M. le P
letier rewarded me in the ſame manner as he d
them. I may ſay, that during the whole courſe
my ſtudies he was a kind of father to me, and h
ſince expreſſed towards me a truly paternal affectio
There is no day paſſes in my life without the r
membrance of his good deeds, and my gratitude h
comes the ſtronger, as I am every day more ſenſi
of the value of a good education.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Duty of PRECEPTORS.

I Have little to add upon this ſubject, after wh
I have ſaid upon it in the different parts of t
treatiſe.

[p] Preceptors are in the place of parents, a
muſt therefore adopt their ſentiments, and be ki
and tender to the children, but with a kindn
which muſt not degenerate into indulgence, and
affection directed by reaſon. Nothing muſt ſe
bel

[o] The late biſhop of Angers, and M. Peletier the late pre
preſident.

[p] Sumat ante omnia parentis erga diſcipulos ſuos animum, se
cedere ſe in eorum locum, à quibus ſibi liberi traduntur, exiſti
Quint. lib. ii. cap. 2.

elow them, which parents would do for their chil-
lren. I thereby mean certain little cares relating to
heir perſons and health, eſpecially whilſt they are
ery young or ſick. This care and attention are
ery pleaſing to parents, and contribute very much
o the making them eaſy.

For the ſame reaſon that they ſupply the place of
he parents, they muſt not look upon themſelves as
bſolute maſters of the children, nor pretend to go-
ern them after their own wills and fancy, without
ny dependence upon the parents, or without con-
ulting them in any thing; and even ſometimes for-
idding the children, under ſevere puniſhments, to
ell them any thing of what paſſes in private. Ma-
ers who act only by reaſon and rule, have no need
o impoſe this ſilence and ſecrecy upon their ſcho-
rs, which has ſomething odious and tyrannical in
, and which the parents have juſt cauſe to complain
f. By communicating their authority to the ma-
ers, they did not deſign to diveſt themſelves of it.
ſothing is more juſt or reaſonable, than to conſult
ith them upon the manner of managing their chil-
ren, to act wholly in concert with them, to take
eir advice, enter into their views, and, in a word,
have an entire confidence and openneſs on both
des, which leaves a liberty of mutually declaring
hat they judge will be moſt advantageous for the
ildren. I ſuppoſe that the parents are ſuch as
ey ſhould be, and that they require nothing con-
ary to a chriſtian education. If it be otherwiſe,
e preceptors, by bearing with patience and conde-
enſion all that may be endured, may proceed with
ntle and moderate remonſtrances. When theſe
ove uſeleſs, it is their duty to retire and quit an
ployment, wherein they are not allowed to follow
e light of their conſcience, or diſcharge their du-
; but they ſhould quit it in a civil manner, with-
t expreſſing any ill humour, or breaking with the
rents.

What

What I have said of the good understanding b
tween tutors and parents, must likewise be unde
stood with reference to the principal of a colleg
When the children are there, it is with him th
are chiefly intrusted. It is he who is charged wi
the discipline of the college both in public and pr
vate, and it is he who answers for all that pas
there. Now without the subordination I am spea
ing of, he is not in a condition to discharge the e
sential duties of his place and character.

Amongst the virtues of a good master, vigilan
and assiduity are some of the chief. He cannot ca
ry them too far, provided it be without constrai
and affectation. He is a guardian angel to the ch
dren; there is no moment in which he is not cha
ged with their conduct. If his absence or want
care, for they are much alike, gives the enemy, wh
is continually watching round them, an opportuni
of carrying off the precious treasure of their inn
cence, what will he answer to Jesus Christ, when
demands an account of their souls, and reproach
him with having been less vigilant in taking care
them, than the devil in destroying them? The m
fortune is, that the generality of masters are not o
en attentive to their obligation upon this point,
they learn it from fatal experience, which they mig
have prevented by an holy and religious diligen
which constitutes the proper character of every m
who presides over the conduct of others: [q] *He th
ruleth*, (let him do it) *with diligence*.

The master's care must extend to the servants w
wait upon the children, and it is not the least of
obligations, though it is generally not known or
minded. As [r] Quintilian observes, we have as mu
cause to apprehend danger from vicious servants,
from bad companions who have usually better edu
tion, and more honour, *nec tutior inter servos ma
quàm ingenuos parùm modestos, conversatio est.*
must be careful therefore, never to leave a child al
w

[q] Rom. xii. 8. [r] Lib. i. cap. 2.

with the servants, unless he is fully assured of their probity and piety; for such there are, of whom parents and masters cannot take too much care.

As children, especially when they are young, are fickle and inconstant in their dispositions, it is proper that they never should be out of their master's sight, not even whilst they are at their studies in private. His presence alone will very much contribute to make them attentive, by fixing their imagination, and save them abundance of distraction and negligence, from whence arise the faults they make in their compositions, that afterwards occasion the chiding and correction, which might have been avoided by the assiduous, rather than the troublesome and pressing diligence of the master. This Quintilian insinuates by the following words, *assiduus sit potiùs quàm immodicus.*

Assiduity must not seem difficult in the college, where the masters are absolutely at liberty during the whole time of the classes, which would render them entirely inexcusable, if they failed in this point: whereas the same assiduity is very severe, and a great confinement in private houses, where the preceptor is obliged to attend his scholars all the day long. It is wise in the parents, and I may say, for their interest too, to endeavour as much as possible to soften this restraint, by allowing the master every week an afternoon entirely to himself, and taking upon themselves the care of the children during that time. There is no constitution that can hold out under so continual a confinement. A preceptor should have a time to unbend, to visit his friends, to keep up his acquaintance, to advise with them about his studies, and the difficulties he meets with in the education of his charge; in a word, not to be always confined to his scholar. It is not easy to express how much this condescension of the parents encourages the masters, and renders their zeal more lively and vigilant.

I have already taken notice, that a master must never act by passion, humour or fancy. It is one of the greatest faults in education, as it never escapes

the discerning eye of the scholars, renders all th good qualifications of the master almost useless, an deprives his instructions and admonitions of almo all their authority; and what is yet very grievous those who act most by humour are apt to perceiv it least, and often take it ill to be put in mind of i though it is the best office that a friend can do them

I am ashamed to mention here certain injurious terms which are sometimes used towards the scho lars, such as, *blockhead*, *beast*, *ass*, &c. Nor woul I do it, if I did not know that these terms were of ten in the mouths of some masters. Does such lan guage arise from reason, good breeding, or goo understanding? Is it not evident that it must be ei ther the effect of a mean education, or of a clown ish dispostion, which knows not what decency is or of a violent and passionate mind that cannot con tain itself?

Amongst those who take upon them the educa tion of youth, there are several, whom their narrow circumstances, or even sometimes absolute poverty have obliged to enter into this profession, and thi they must not be ashamed of. The famous Origen taught grammar for a subsistence, and had the hap piness of preserving all his life long the remem brance and love of that poverty, wherein his fathe left him at his death. This is an excellent mode for masters. The salary they get for their pains i certainly very lawful, and well deserved. However I would not have that the only motive, nor even th prevailing one, which engages them to it, but tha the will of God, and the desire of sanctifying them selves, should have the first and principal share i it. The cruelty of parents often obliges masters t haggle with them, and dispute about the terms o their salary. It were to be wished, that the gene rosity of parents on one hand, and the disintereste ness of masters on the other, might prevent any oc casion for this kind of agreements, which in my o pinion have something mean and sordid in them. I

might be well for the latter to rely a little more upon Providence than they usually do, and I have never observed that it has ever failed those who have absolutely confided in it.

If views of interest are unworthy a preceptor that is truly christian, those of vanity and ambition are no less so. I have oft admired what St. Augustin says of the motive which engaged Nebrides to take upon him the instruction of youth, a motive directly opposite to the two faults I am here speaking of. [s] He was St. Augustin's intimate friend, and had left his country, his estate, and mother, to follow him to Milan, without any other reason, than to give himself up with his friend, to a search after truth and wisdom, which they both pursued with equal zeal. He could not refuse, at his instant intreaties, to become an assistant to Verecundus, who taught a school at Milan. It was not, says St. Augustin, the desire of gain which induced Nebrides to take upon him this employment, since he might have had a much more profitable one if he had pleased; and still less was it through any motive of vanity or ambition, as he had always shunned the acquaintance of great men, desiring only the obscurity of a peaceful retreat, wherein he might give up his whole time to the study of wisdom.

This example puts me in mind of another, which is no less admirable, and relates to the education of a young gentleman of great quality. [t] The father, full of ambition, thought only of raising his son to great employments in the state, and the mother, who was a true christian, of making him great in heaven. She thought she could only succeed in her desires, by giving him an holy education; and to this end she proposed to a monk, whom she had desired to come to Antioch, to leave his mountain and retirement, and take upon him the care of her son. She conjured him to it in so earnest and pathetical a manner, protesting to him, that he should answer for the soul of that child, that he thought he was

[s] Conf. lib. vi. c. 10. [t] S. Chrys. de vit. monach. lib. ii. c. 14.

under an obligation not to refuse it. The succes answered the hopes of the pious mother. The child instructed by his excellent preceptor, made an extraordinary progress in the sciences, and still more in piety. Gay, civil, affable and obliging to all the world; he insinuated himself by that agreeable behaviour into the favour of his companions, which gave him an opportunity of gaining over several of them, and leading them to embrace virtue. St Chrysostom, who was an eye-witness of this fact has given us the history of it, but more at length than I have here quoted it.

What I gather from these two examples, and wherewithal I shall end this chapter, is, that piety is the most essential and important qualification in a preceptor, that which should be preferred to all the rest, and adds an infinite value to it. It inspires the masters with an earnest zeal for the scholars which usually draws upon them the blessing of heaven. [u] I have in another place produced an excellent example of this zeal in the person of St. Augustin, which may serve as an instruction and model to all Christian masters.

CHAP. V.

Of the Duty of SCHOLARS.

QUintilian says [x], that he has included almost all the duty of scholars in this one piece of advice which he gives them, to love those who teach them as they love the sciences which they learn of them and to look upon them as fathers, from whom they derive not the life of the body, but that instruction which is in a manner the life of the soul. Indeed this

[u] Tom. i. Disc. Prelim. p. 71.

[x] Plura de officiis docentium locutus, discipulos id unum interim moneo, ut præceptores suos non minus quam ipsa studia ament; et parentes esse, non quidem corporum, sed mentium credant. Quint. lib. ii. cap 9.

this sentiment of affection and respect suffices to make them apt to learn during the time of their studies, and full of gratitude all the rest of their lives. It seems to me to include a great part of what is to be expected from them.

y Docility, which consists in submitting to direction, in readily receiving the instructions of their masters, and reducing them to practice, is properly the virtue of scholars, as that of masters is to teach well. The one can do nothing without the other; and as it is not sufficient for a labourer to sow the seed, unless the earth, after having opened its bosom to receive it, in a manner hatches, warms, and moistens it; so likewise the whole fruit of instruction depends upon a good correspondence between the masters and the scholars.

Gratitude for those who have laboured in our education, is the character of an honest man, and the mark of a good heart. Who is there among us z, says Cicero, that has been instructed with any care, that is not highly delighted with the sight, or even the bare remembrance of his preceptors, masters, and the place where he was taught and brought up? a Seneca exhorts young men to preserve always a great respect for their masters, to whose care they are indebted for the amendment of their faults, and for having imbibed sentiments of honour and probity. b Their exactness and severity displease sometimes

y Ut magistrorum officium est, docere: sic, discipulorum, præbere se dociles. alioqui neutrum sine altero fuerit. Et, sicut frustra sparseris semina, nisi illa præmollitus foverit sulcus: ita eloquentia coalescere nequit, nisi sociata tradentis accipientisque concordia. Quint. lib. ii. c. 9.

z Quis est not rum liberaliter educatus, cui non educator, cui non magister suus atque doctor, cui non locus ille matus ubi ipse altus, aut doctus est, cum grata recordatione in mente versetur? Cic. pro Planc. n. 81.

a Præceptores suos adolescens veneretur ac suspiciat, quorum beneficio se vitiis exuit, et sub quorum tutela positus exercet bonas artes. Senec. Epist. 83.

b Tandiu illos odio habemus, quamdiu graves judicamus, et quamdiu beneficia illorum non intelligimus. Cum jam ætas aliquid prudentiæ collegit, apparet propter illa ipsa amari à nobis debere, propter

times at an age, when we are not in a condition to judge of the obligations we owe to them; but when years have ripened our understanding and judgment we then discern that what made us dislike them, mean admonitions, reprimands, and a severe exactness in restraining the passions of an imprudent and inconsiderate age, is expressly the very thing which should make us esteem and love them. [c] Thus we see that Marcus Aurelius, one of the wisest and most illustrious emperors that Rome ever had, thanked the gods for two things, especially for his having had excellent tutors himself, and that he had found the like for his children.

Quintilian, after having noted the different characters of the mind in children, draws in a few words the image of what he judged to be a perfect scholar, and certainly it is a very amiable one. "For "my part, says he, I like a child who is encouraged "by commendation, is animated by a sense of glory, "and weeps when he is outdone. A noble emula- "tion will always keep him in exercise; a repri- "mand will touch him to the quick, and honour "will serve instead of a spur. We need not fear "that such a scholar will ever give himself up to "idleness." *Mihi ille detur puer, quem laus excitet, quem gloria juvet, qui victus fleat. Hic erit alendus ambitu: hunc mordebit objurgatio: hunc honor excitabit: in hoc desidiam nunquam verebor.*

How great a value soever Quintilian sets upon the talents of the mind, he esteems those of the heart far beyond them, and looks upon the others as of no value without these. In the same chapter, from whence I took the preceding words, he declares, he should never have a good opinion of a child, who placed his study in occasioning laughter, by mimicking the behaviour, mien, and faults of others, and he presently gives an admirable reason for it. "A "child, says he, cannot be truly ingenious, in my "opinion;

propter quæ non amabantur; admonitiones, severitatem, et inconditæ adolescentiæ custodiam. Senec. lib. v. de Benef. cap 5.

[c] M. Aurel. lib. i. § 17.

" opinion, unleſs he be good and virtuous; other-
" wiſe I ſhould rather chooſe to have him dull and
" heavy, than of a bad diſpoſition." *Non dabit mihi ſpem bonæ indolis, qui hoc imitandi ſtudio petet, ut rideatur. Nam probus quoque imprimis erit ille verè ingenioſus: alioqui non pejus duxerim tardi eſſe ingenii, quàm mali.*

He diſplays to us all theſe talents in the eldeſt of his two children, whoſe character he draws, and whoſe death he laments in ſo eloquent and pathetical a ſtrain, in the beautiful preface to his ſixth book. I ſhall beg leave to inſert here a ſmall extract of it, which will not be uſeleſs to the boys, as they will find it a model which ſuits well with their age and condition.

After having mentioned his younger ſon, who died at five years old, and deſcribed the graces and beauties of his countenance, the prettineſs of his expreſſions, the vivacity of his underſtanding, which began to ſhine through the veil of childhood; " I had ſtill
" left me, [c] ſays he, my ſon Quintilian, in whom I
" placed all my pleaſure and all my hopes, and com-
" fort enough I might have found in him. For
" having now entered into his tenth year, he did
" not produce only bloſſoms like his younger bro-
" ther, but fruits already formed, and beyond the
" power of diſappointment. . . I have much experi-
" ence, but I never ſaw in any child, I do not ſay
" only ſo many excellent diſpoſitions for the ſciences,
" nor ſo much taſte and inclination for ſtudy, as his
" maſters know, but ſo much probity, ſweetneſs,
" good nature, gentleneſs, and inclination to pleaſe
" and oblige, as I diſcerned in him.

[d] " Beſides this, he had all the advantages of na-
" ture,

[c] Una poſt hacc Quintiliani mei ſpe ac voluptate nitebar: et poterat ſufficere ſolatio. Non enim floſculos, ſicut prior, ſed, jam decimum aetatis ingreſſus annum, certos atque deformatos fructus oſtenderat. Juro . . . has me in illo vidiſſe virtutes ingenii, non modo ad percipiendas diſciplinas, quo nihil praeſtantius cognovi plurima expertus, ſtudiique jam tum non coacti, (ſciunt praeceptores) ſed probitatis, pietatis, humanitatis, liberalitatis. . . .

[d] Etiam illa fortuita aderant omnia, vocis jucunditas claritaſque,

" ture, a charming voice, a pleasing countenanc
" and a surprising facility in pronouncing well th
" two languages, as if he had been equally born fo
" both of them.

e " But all this was no more than hopes. I s
" a greater value upon his admirable virtues, his
" quality of temper, his resolution, the courag
" with which he bore up against fear and pai
" For how were his physicians astonished at his p
" tience under a distemper of eight months cont
" nuance, when at the point of death he comfor
" ed me himself, and bad me not to weep for him
" and, delirious as he sometimes was, at his la
" moments his tongue ran of nothing else but learn
" ing and the sciences: O vain and deceitful hope
" s."

Are there many boys amongst us, of whom w
can truly say so much to their advantage, as Quint
lian says here of his son? What a shame would
be for them, if born and brought up in a Christia
country, they had not even the virtues of Paga
children! I make no scruple to repeat them here a
gain, docility, obedience, respect for their masters
or rather a degree of affection and the source of a
eternal gratitude, zeal for study, and a wonderfu
thirst after the sciences, joined to an abhorrence o
vice and irregularity, an admirable fund of probity
goodness, gentleness, civility and liberality; as all
patience, courage, and greatness of soul, in the cours
of a long sickness. What then was wanting to al
these virtues? That which alone could render them
truly worthy the name, and must be in a manne
the soul of them, and constitute their whole value
the precious gift of faith and piety, the saving know
ledg

oris suavitas, et in utracunque lingua, tanquam ad eam demum na
tus esset, expressa proprietas omnium literarum.

e Sed haec spes ad nc. Illa majora: constantia, gravitas, contr
dolores etiam ac metus robur. Nam quo ille animo, qua modice
rum admiratione, mensium octo valetudinem tulit! Ut me in supre
mis consolatus est! Quam, etiam deficiens, jamque non noster,
psumque illum alienatae mentis errorem circa sonas literas non ha
buit!

ledge of a Mediator, a ſincere deſire of pleaſing God, and referring all our actions to him.

It is this which infinitely exalts every other talent in Chriſtian children, and alone deſerves to be propoſed to them as a perfect model, worthy of their whole imitation. They may find it in two illuſtrious ſaints, whoſe knowledge and virtue have done ſo much honour to the church. I mean St. Baſil and St. Gregory Nazianzen.

They were both deſcended of very noble families in the eye of the world, and ſtill more ſo in the eyes of God. They were born almoſt at the ſame time, and their birth was the fruit of the prayers and piety of their mothers, who from that very moment devoted them to God, from whom they had received them. The mother of St. Gregory preſenting him to him in the church, ſanctified his hands by the ſacred books ſhe made him touch.

They had both of them all the qualifications that make children amiable, beauty of perſon, charms of the mind, and mildneſs and politeneſs of manners.

Their education was ſuch, as may be imagined in families, where piety, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, was hereditary and domeſtic; and where fathers, mothers, brothers, ſiſters and grandfathers, on both ſides, were all of them ſaints, and moſt of them very eminent ones.

The happy diſpoſition, which God had given them, was cultivated with all poſſible care. After they had finiſhed their ſtudies at home, they were ſent ſeparately into the cities of Greece, which were of greateſt reputation for learning, and put under the tuition of the moſt excellent maſters.

At laſt they met again at Athens. We know that this city was in a manner the theatre and centre of polite learning and all erudition. It was likewiſe in a manner the cradle of the famous friendſhip which ſubſiſted between our two ſaints, or at leaſt it ſerved very much to tie the knot of it in a ſtraighter manner. A very extraordinary adven-

ture

ture gave occaſion to it. There was an odd cuſtom at Athens relating to ſuch ſcholars as were new comers, that were ſent thither from different provinces. They began with introducing them into a numerous aſſembly of youth like themſelves, and there they expoſed them to all imaginary raillery and inſolence, after which they led them croſs the city in proceſſion, conducted and preceded by all the boys, who marched two by two before them. When they came to the place appointed, the whole company ſtopped, ſet up a loud cry, and made as if they would break open the gates, and they were refuſed to be opened to them. When the novice had been admitted there, he was then reſtored to his liberty. Gregory, who came firſt to Athens and ſaw how oppoſite this ridiculous ceremony was to the grave and ſerious character of Baſil, and how diſagreeable it would be to him, had credit enough among his companions to get it diſpenſed with. It was this, [f] ſays St. Gregory Nazianzen in the admirable account he gives of this adventure, which gave occaſion to our ſacred friendſhip, which began to kindle in us that flame which has never ſince been extinguiſhed, and which pierced our hearts with a dart, that is fixed there for ever. Happy Athens, cries he out, thou ſource of all my felicity! I went thither only to acquire knowledge, and I found there the moſt precious of all my treaſures, an affectionate and faithful friend, happier in this than Saul, who ſeeking but for aſſes, found a kingdom.

This relation, formed and begun, as I have now mentioned, grew every day ſtronger and ſtronger, eſpecially when theſe two friends, who kept nothing a ſecret from each other, mutually laying open their hearts, diſcerned they had both the ſame end, and ſought for the ſame treaſure, that is to ſay, wiſdom and virtue. They lived under the ſame roof, eat at the ſame table, had the ſame exerciſes and pleaſures,

[f] Τῦτο ἡμῖν τῆς φιλίας προοίμιον· ἐντεῦθεν ὁ τῆς συναφείας σπινθὴρ ἔτρωσε τὰς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἐτρώθημεν.

pleasures, and were properly speaking but one and the same soul; a marvellous union, says St. Gregory, which cannot be really produced by any other than a chaste and Christian friendship.

We both alike aspired to knowledge, an object the most capable of raising sentiments of envy and jealousy, and yet we were absolutely exempt from that subtil and malicious passion, and experienced no other than a noble emulation. Each of us had a higher sense of the glory of his friend than of his own, and sought not to gain the superiority over him, but to yield to him and imitate him.

Our principal study and only end was virtue. We strove to render our friendship eternal by preparing ourselves for a blessed immortality, by withdrawing our affection more and more from the things of this world. We took the word of God for our conductor and guide. We served as masters and overseers to ourselves, by mutually exhorting one another to the practice of piety; and I might say, if there was not some kind of vanity in the expression, that we were a kind of rule to each other, whereby to discern falsehood from truth, and good from evil.

We had no conversation with such of our companions, as were saucy, passionate, or immoral, and kept company only with such as by their modesty, circumspection and wisdom might assist and support us in the good designs we had formed; knowing that bad examples like contagious distempers are easily communicated.

These two Saints, as we cannot too often repeat to youth, were always distinguished among their companions by the beauty and liveliness of their wit, by their diligence and labour, by the extraordinary success they had in all their studies, by the ease and readiness with which they acquired all the sciences, taught at Athens; polite learning, poetry, eloquence and philosophy. But they were still more distinguished by the innocence of their manners, which

was

was alarmed at the ſight of the leaſt danger, ar
afraid of even the ſhadow of vice. A dream whi
St. Gregory had when he was very young, of whi
he has left us an elegant deſcription in verſe, ve
much contributed to inſpire him with theſe ſen
ments. As he ſlept, he thought he ſaw two vi
gins of the ſame age and of equal beauty, cloth
in a modeſt manner, and without any of thoſe o
naments, which ladies uſually are fond of. The
eyes were fixed upon the ground, and their count
nance covered with a veil, which did not hind
him from diſcerning the bluſh which a maid
ſhame ſpreads over their cheeks g. The ſight
them, adds the ſaint, filled me with joy, for th
ſeemed to have ſomething in them more than h
man. They took me in their arms and careſſed n
as a child, whom they dearly loved; and when
aſked them who they were, the one told me ſhe w
* *Purity*, and the other † *Continence*; but both t
companions of Jeſus Chriſt, and the friends
thoſe who renounced marriage to lead an heaven
life. They exhorted me to join my heart and mi
to theirs, that being filled with the glory of virg
nity, they might preſent me before the light of t
immortal Trinity. After theſe words they flew
to heaven, and my eyes followed them as far
they could.

All this indeed was but a dream, but had a very re
effect upon the heart of the ſaint. He never forg
the agreeable image of chaſtity, and reflected upo
it with pleaſure in his mind. It was, as he ſays hi
ſelf, a ſpark of fire, which increaſing by degree
inkindled in him the love of a perfect continence

Baſil and he had great need of ſuch a virtue to d
fend themſelves amidſt the perils of Athens, the mo
dangerous city in the world, in point of morals,
conſequen

g Κρυδέμνω δ' ἐφύπερθε καρήατα ἠδὲ παρειὰς
Κρυβόμεναι κατὰ οἷς ἑαυτ' ὄμματ' ἔχον·
Αἰδόος ἀμφοτέρησιν ἐπέτρεπε καλὸν ἔρευθος,
Ὅσσον ευννήτων φαίνεθ' ὑπ' ἐκ φαρέων

* Ἁγνεία. † Σωφροσύνη.

conſequence of the vaſt concourſe of youth which came thither from all parts, and brought with them their vices and irregularities. But, ſays St. Gregory, we had the happineſs of experiencing in that corrupt city ſomething like what the poets tell of a river, which preſerves the ſweetneſs of its waters amidſt the ſaltneſs of the ſea, and of an animal which ſubſiſts in the midſt of fire. We had no converſation or friendſhip with the bad, we knew but two ways in Athens, the one which led us to the church and the holy divines who taught there; and the other which led us to the ſchools and our maſters in learning. As to entertainments, ſpectacles, aſſemblies and feſtivals, we were abſolutely ignorant of them.

One might naturally imagine, that youths of this character, who ſeparated themſelves from all ſociety, who had no ſhare in any of the pleaſures and diverſions of thoſe of their own age, whoſe pure and innocent lives were a continual cenſure of the irregularity of the reſt, muſt have been the mark of all their companions, and the object of their hatred, or at leaſt of their contempt and raillery. But it was quite the contrary; and nothing is more glorious to the memory of theſe two illuſtrious ſaints, and I venture to ſay, reflects more honour upon piety itſelf, than ſuch an event. Their virtue indeed muſt have been very pure, and their conduct very wiſe and diſcreet, to have not only the envy and hatred, but to have gained in general the eſteem, love and reſpect of all their companions.

This was ſeen in an eminent manner, when it was reported, that they deſigned to leave Athens to return into their own country. The grief was univerſal, cries and lamentations were heard on all ſides, and tears flowed from every eye. They were about to loſe the honour of their city and glory of their ſchools. The maſters and ſcholars, adding force and violence to prayers and complaints, proteſted they would not let them go, nor ever conſent to their departure. One of them could not help yielding to

this extraordinarry ſolicitation, which might rathe be called a conſpiracy to detain him. This was Gre gory; and one may eaſily judge how much he wa concerned at it.

I queſtion whether it is poſſible to imagine amor perfect model for the boys, than that which I hav now laid before their eyes, where we find all the cir cumſtances united, that can render youth amiabl and valuable, noble blood, beauty of mind, an incre dible ardour for ſtudy, wonderful ſucceſs in all th ſciences, polite and noble manners, a ſurpriſing mo deſty amidſt public praiſes and applauſes, and what in finitely ſets off all theſe qualifications, a piety and fea of God, which ill examples only improved and con firmed. We may read an admirable character o theſe two great Saints in M. du Guet's letters ex preſly drawn up for the uſe of the ſcholars, wh were to anſwer upon ſome of their diſcourſes.

Beſides the example of ſome illuſtrious Chriſtia Saints, ſuch as the two I have mentioned, it may b proper for the boys to take a view of thoſe that ar to be found in holy ſcripture. They will there fin the young Samuel by his piety and virtue alike agree able to God and men. [h] *And the child Samuel grew on, and was in favour both with the Lord and alſo wit men.* They will there admire an holy King, who a eight years old, following the example of David, wa ever careful to pleaſe God in all that he did. [i] *An he did that which was right in the ſight of the Lord and walked in all the ways of David his father.* The will there ſee Tobit, after he had paſſed his yout in innocence, avoiding the company of ſuch as ſacri ficed unto the golden calves, ſhewing nothing child iſh in his behaviour, and keeping with all exactne the injunctions of the law from his infancy. [k] *Soli fugiebat conſortia omnium .... Nihil puerile geſſit i opere .... Hæc & his ſimilia ſecundum legem Dei pu erulus obſervabat.* They will ſee him, I ſay, educa tin

[h] 1 Sam. ii. 26. [i] 2 Kings xxii. 2. [k] Tob. ch. i.

ting his ſon in the ſame manner, by inſtructing him in his infancy to fear God, and abſtain from every ſin. *Quem ab infantia timere Deum docuit, et abſtinere ab omni peccato.* They will be ſurpriſed to find long before Chriſtianity a courage truly heroical and Chriſtian in the ſeven brethren of the Maccabees, who were all determined to die by the moſt cruel puniſhments rather than tranſgreſs the law of God. [1] *We are ready to die rather than to tranſgreſs the laws of our fathers.*

But they muſt principally imbibe their ſentiments from the very fountain of holineſs and piety, that is, from Jeſus Chriſt, who to ſanctify childhood and youth, was pleaſed to be born a child, and afterwards to ſet an example to all perſons of the ſeveral virtues which properly belong to them, by his exactneſs in going up to the temple at the appointed times; by his diligence in hearing the doctors; by the wiſdom and modeſty of his anſwers; by his application to do the work of his Father, and to execute his orders without conſulting with fleſh or blood; by his perfect ſubmiſſion to his parents; and laſtly, by the care he took of outwardly ſhewing before God and men, in proportion as he advanced in years, a viſible progreſs of grace and wiſdom, the fulneſs of which he had received from the firſt moment of his incarnation.

The CONCLUSION *of this* WORK.

I am now come to the end of my work, which I undertook with a view to ſerve the public, and to be of ſome aſſiſtance if I could to youth, and thoſe who are entruſted with their education. It was not my deſign to ſay any thing which might in the leaſt offend any of my brethren, or any perſon whatſoever. If however this has happened without my intention or knowledge, I deſire they would excuſe it, and take in good part what has fallen from me without any bad deſign.

All

[1] 2 Mac. vii. 2.

All that now remains, is to beg of God, who the only master of mankind, the author of all lig and of every excellent gift, who dispenses talents he pleases, and inspires us with the manner of m king good use of them, to whom alone it belon to speak to the heart as well as to the understan ing, to beseech him, I say, that he would be pleas to give a blessing to this work, to the author, t children, the parents, the masters and servants, a word, to all who have any care in the educati of youth, in any place or any college whatsoeve and particularly, that he would be pleased to po down abundantly his grace upon the university Paris, that he will continue to preserve and i crease, not only the taste of learning and the ences, which has always flourished in it, but fi more, that disposition to piety and religion, whi has hitherto been its most solid glory. Amen.

The END *of the* FOURTH *and* LAST VOLUME.

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